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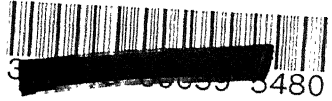
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ADOLESCENT FANTASY

Adolescent Fantasy

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE PICTURE-STORY
METHOD OF PERSONALITY STUDY

By

PERCIVAL M. SYMONDS

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PREFACE

*T*HIS INVESTIGATION grew out of my interest in methods of studying personality as expressed in my earlier book *Diagnosing Personality and Conduct* (published in 1931, by the Century Company). When Murray's thematic apperception method (called in the present report the "picture-story method") was first described, in 1935, I saw at once that it had possibilities for a more penetrating study of personality than any method heretofore prepared. I was immediately intrigued with the possibility of using the method for studying the adolescent personality with which my work at Teachers College made me particularly concerned, and started to collect a set of pictures from current popular magazines and use them to secure stories from high school boys and girls. As a result of this experience I was able to develop criteria for pictures which might be used in studying adolescent fantasy, which are described in my "Criteria for the Selection of Pictures for the Investigation of Adolescent Fantasies," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXIV (1939), 271-274.

The next step was to draw up plans for using such a set of pictures both to study the fantasy life of adolescents and to learn how the picture-story method operates. The Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences in 1939 made a grant for a project to be called "Adolescent Fantasy," which made it possible in the winter of 1940 to secure the services of Mr. Lynd Ward, well-known illustrator, to prepare a set of forty-two pictures according to my specifications. These pictures were photographed in reduced size, and from the negatives six sets, mounted on cardboard, were prepared for experimentation.

A second grant by the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences made possible in 1940-1941 the collection of data on forty normal adolescent boys and girls in junior and senior high schools of Suburban City, and my appreciation is expressed to the many principals, counselors, and teachers, as well as to the boys and

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girls and their parents who contributed in one way or another to this undertaking. I was able to engage two able assistants for the year, on whom responsibility fell for gathering the data—Dr. Milton Wexler, who secured stories and case data from the twenty boys, and Dr. Sylvia Silverman, who collected the data from the twenty girls.

For a year the writer struggled with the analysis of these data, but the task proved more time-consuming and exacting than was expected, and a third grant from the Council was necessary to accelerate the analytic work. Mrs. Muriel Chamoulaud, bringing to the task ability of high order, devoted many hours during the winter of 1942-1943 to a thematic analysis of all of the stories, and she also completed a personality sketch of each case, which brought out clearly for the first time the nature of the correspondences and opposites between the case data and the fantasy material.

When the thematic analysis was completed, Miss Kathryn Albert undertook the task of classifying the themes, and the tabulation in Appendix C is essentially the classification which she worked out. Finally, the writer is indebted to Miss Rhoda Lawner for her interest in the project and her meticulous plotting of the presence of each of scores of themes on cross-section paper as they occur in each story for every individual. This graphic presentation of the theme analysis has been of great assistance in the study of individuals and in showing at a glance certain trends in the data.

Eventually a fourth grant made it possible to study the quantitative relationships between the themes and also between ratings of adjustment of the forty boys and girls, teacher ratings of behavior, and a number of self-inventory ratings. Correlations were computed between forty factors through the courtesy of Dr. Irving Lorge and his facilities in the Institute of Psychological Research, Teachers College, Columbia University. Later, correlations on 24 additional factors were obtained in order to compare my analyses with those made independently by Dr. Wexler.

It is believed that the results of this study, which because of the war and other commitments was unavoidably strung out over a nine-year period, are of sufficient significance to justify the undertaking. In the first place, they have provided new information concerning the underlying drives and impulses of adolescents as revealed through their fantasies. The results of the thematic analyses of the stories in-

dicating that adolescent boys and girls are responding to dynamic factors which are similar to those found in children and also in adults. These forces may be exaggerated in early adolescence, as we have been told repeatedly, because of the eruption of new hormonal drives into the motivating system. In later adolescence there is the final struggle to achieve independence, with the resulting conflict between dependent and independent trends. The picture of the adolescent which this study presents agrees closely with psychoanalytically oriented analyses of the adolescent years.

The study also throws light on the picture-story method. Agreeing with earlier findings by Dr. R. N. Sanford, the conclusions reached should stimulate caution against a too-ready and optimistic hope that any simple one-to-one correspondence between fantasy material and overt personality will be found. The relations between fantasy material and expressed personality are complicated, indeed. But rather than to discourage the clinical psychologist from using the picture-story method, this study points to the extraordinary power with which it can penetrate into motives and underlying personality trends. Two cases have been included to illustrate the use of the method in a personality analysis of a boy showing predelinquent trends and a boy making adequate home and school adjustments.

New York
January, 1949

PERCIVAL M. SYMONDS

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ADOLESCENT FANTASY

I. INTRODUCTION

*T*HIS INVESTIGATION has a twofold purpose. Primarily it aims to shed additional light on the nature of the fantasy life of adolescent boys and girls because of the belief that day dreams, stray thoughts, and images, as well as more structured mental products, should yield important understanding of adolescent personality, particularly the hidden springs and motives operative during this difficult and dimly understood transition period in development. The other purpose of the study is to explore the possibilities of the Thematic Apperception Test, to be called in this study simply the "picture-story method."

The scientific study of personality took its cues originally from the methods employed in psychometrics as developed in mental testing. To be scientific, so it was said, mental products must be measured, since "everything that exists at all exists in some amount" ¹ and hence can be measured. Measurement was hailed as the foundation of scientific method, and the development of measuring instruments was a necessary prelude to the coming of age of psychology as a scientific discipline.

Following the example of mental testers, experimenters in this field isolated elements of personality, interests, attitudes, and behavior and formulated them as questions to be answered by the subjects to be studied. The answers were to be scored according to some criterion such as "being in the direction of adjustment" or "resembling the answers given by successful lawyers." One important difference, whose existence was well known, but whose influence was not originally comprehended, was that each question in a mental test had only one correct answer and the subject was instructed to find that answer in order to receive credit on the test, whereas in the personality questionnaire there was no single universally right answer, but any one of a

¹ E. L. Thorndike, "The Nature, Purposes, and General Methods of Measurements of Educational Products," *Seventeenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Illinois, 1918; Part II, *The Measurement of Educational Products*, Chapter II, at p. 16.

number of answers could be right, depending on the individual and the circumstances. Hence, in a personality questionnaire the subject is not instructed to give the *correct* answer, but he is urged to give the *true* answer. If in a mental test a child is asked, "How much change will you receive if you wish to buy 8-three-cent stamps and you give 50 cents in payment," he strives to give the only correct answer. But if he is asked, "Do you like to help your mother with her housework?" he recognizes that there is no one generally correct answer (although there may be a preferred answer), and he is motivated to give the answer which expresses his own feelings. This he does truthfully, in general, unless there is reason to believe that this would not please the person who asks the question or would expose the answerer to censure.

The free response nature of the answer was not originally sensed, because it was called forth by such a highly organized stimulus—the question.

Years before (in 1906) Jung² was experimenting with a free-response device known as the "free-association method," in which the subject was asked to give the first word which came to his mind in response to each of 100 stimulus words. Jung was prompted in his inquiry by the use of the free-association method in psychoanalysis, which was already beginning to show that it possessed extraordinary powers for probing into the recesses of the mind.

Other stimuli besides words were used to elicit free responses by a number of other workers. Rorschach,³ a Swiss psychiatrist, as early as 1911, experimented with the responses that people made to a series of symmetrical ink blots. In this country H. A. Murray⁴ tried out a large number of different stimuli for their free-association value. One of the first of the stimuli that Murray experimented with was a set of pictures which he presented one at a time to subjects, with the request that they tell a story based on the scene in each picture.⁵ Of all the stimuli that Murray experimented with, these pictures elicited the greatest

² C. G. Jung, "Diagnostische Assoziationsstudien," *Beiträge zur Experimentellen Psychopathologie*, Leipzig: Barth, Vol. I (1906).

³ Hermann Rorschach, *Psychodiagnostics*, 2d ed., New York, Grune and Stratten, 1946; First published in German, in Bern, Switzerland, Ernst Bircher, 1921.

⁴ H. A. Murray, *Explorations in Personality*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1938.

⁵ C. D. Morgan, and H. A. Murray, "A Method for Investigating Fantasies," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, XXXIV (1935), 289-306.

number and the richest fantasies. He called this the "Thematic Apperception Test"—"apperception" in that the stories were constructed from dynamic tendencies within the individual stirred up from his past experiences, and "thematic" because he could recognize in the stories "themas"—combinations of needs and the situations which aroused them. The Thematic Apperception Test revealed the presence of motivational strivings which the individual had carried down to the present from earlier experiences.

In the 1930's numerous workers were experimenting with a variety of stimuli—doll figures, toys, music, words, pictures, odors, and the like—and various media of expression—painting, drawing, story-telling, and play—for producing free responses.

All these free-response methods have been called "projective techniques" by Lawrence K. Frank,⁶ Ruth Horowitz, and Lois B. Murphy.⁷

Projective techniques represent an extensive development from earlier mental tests. As the stimuli become less structured, the variety of responses becomes wider. In a mental test it is possible to frame the questions so that the answers all relate to the same function, and the child's capacity to answer the questions can be given a quantitative rating. But as the stimuli become less structured, the kinds of response become more varied—indeed, can range over the gamut of human experience. Naturally, when the responses are not related to a single function, it is less easy to use them for measurement purposes.

On the other hand, free responses have been found to have considerable diagnostic significance. As experience with them accumulates, it is seen that the response in a projective technique is typical—it is a typical response of that subject, and it is typical of the way he responds in situations in which there are stimuli even vaguely resembling those used in the test. For instance, a person who avoids responding to color in the Rorschach cards has been found generally to avoid any response to exciting, emotionally potent situations. Whereas in a mental test a subject tells us how well he *can* respond to questions pertaining to a single function, in the free-association method the subject lets us observe how he *will* respond when considerable latitude

⁶ L. K. Frank, "Projective Methods for the Study of Personality," *Journal of Psychology*, VIII (1939), 389-413.

⁷ R. Horowitz, and L. B. Murphy, "Projective Methods in the Psychological Study of Children," *Journal of Experimental Education*, VII (1938), 133-140.

of choice is granted him. It may be seen that the latter method is of the greatest value in the diagnosis of personality.

Instead of being measured, a free response should be named and classified. The problem of classification is a major problem which workers with projective techniques face, and the present investigation has as one of its purposes the exploration of this problem. But the problem of the classification of projective responses is the same as the analysis and classification of personality itself, and general agreement must wait until some theory of personality finally wins general acceptance. The data being gathered by the many workers with projective techniques should help us to reach satisfactory and acceptable classification schemes. So the question posed in personality diagnosis (at present, at any rate) is not how much of this or that trait or function does a person possess, but what are his characteristic attitudes and responses.

For personality diagnosis other fruitful procedures have been used. Observation of behavior and response has proved to be a fundamental and indispensable method of studying personality. Observation has been quantified by using time as the unit of measurement and merely counting the occurrence of any response in each unit of time. A person can limit himself to observing the items on a predetermined check list, but, as in projective methods, observation is as wide as the interests and sensitivities of the observer, and what he decides to record is, again, a matter of selection and classification.

This study is concerned with "fantasy." That which can be observed with regard to a person is held to be objective—two persons observing independently would come out with some sort of rough agreement concerning what they saw. But when a person answers a question in response to the stimulus in a projective technique, the result is a mental product pure and simple. There is no guarantee that it must correspond to anything in the outside world or to the person's behavior or personality. Once the response is recorded it can be construed as "data" and can be independently studied by different analysts. If the response is to a question, it is roughly held to a certain topic and subject matter to the extent that it tries to answer the question. Tests usually require directed or controlled thinking. But as the stimulus in a projective technique becomes unstructured, less control is maintained over the response. It is free to take any flight that the

inner dynamics of the person prompts. So the response to a projective technique partakes of the nature of fantasy—it is an uncontrolled mental product rather than a response that is held down to some requirement of truth or accuracy or consistency.

Fantasies are uncontrolled responses and are believed to be important because the same dynamic or motivational tendency which yielded the response on the projective technique also guides the responses of actual behavior. So the projective response reveals the direction of personality, its motivational tendencies, and the dynamic forces that guide behavior. At least, that is a hypothesis, and an important purpose of the present investigation is to determine to what extent responses on a projective technique do correspond with the personality in its tendencies to respond.

On the other hand, it is quite possible that when a person is free to spin out his fantasy he releases forces which are denied expression in actual life. A boy may have strong aggressive trends which are not permitted expression in an orderly and compulsive home. These aggressive trends can only gain expression in fantasies which have no counterpart in real life. If this is the case, then fantasies reveal subterranean trends which only see the light of day in these airy and fanciful forms of expression. If fantasies represent only what is denied expression in reality, then it is hoped that this fact, too, may be discovered by the present investigation. This discovery is important, for if the pressure of impulse becomes too strong, it may break over from fantasy into some sort of real and violent behavior which may shock those who do not suspect the strong inner forces, or the impulse may seek experience in substitute neurotic or compensatory forms of expression, without direct significance in living, thereby causing the individual distress and torture.

This is a study of *adolescent* fantasy. It was the wish of the experimenter to explore the possibilities of the picture-story method in the study of the fantasy life of adolescents. The data gathered should throw considerable light on the nature of adolescent fantasy. To what extent in their daydreams are adolescents concerned with the erotic? To what extent are their fantasies aggressive? To what extent do they indicate tendencies toward guilt and the need for punishment?

Another purpose of this study is to illuminate the values of the picture-story method for clinical use. Does it reveal a distinct and

unique pattern of needs and strivings for each individual? With what in the individual's personality are these fantasy elements related? Of what clinical significance are the themes from the stories which a subject tells, and how can a counselor use them therapeutically in helping an individual toward better adjustment?

Summary

The present investigation has a twofold purpose: (a) to explore the possibilities in the picture-story (Thematic Apperception) method and (b) to study the nature of adolescent fantasy.

In particular, the study is aimed at securing answers to the following questions:

1. What are the common themes in adolescent fantasy?
 - a) With what frequency do certain themes appear in the stories told by adolescents?
 - b) What are the norms of expectation for the occurrence of different themes?
2. What age and sex differences occur in fantasy production?
3. Is there a warming-up effect in fantasy production?
4. What features in the pictures stimulate the greatest fantasy production?
5. In what ways and under what conditions is there a correspondence between fantasy and personality?
6. In what ways and under what conditions is there a complementary quality of personality and fantasy?
7. What are some of the dynamic factors revealed through the stories?
8. Are there characteristic dynamic sequences within stories and between stories?
9. To what extent is there symbolization in the stories?
10. What values are there to associations to the stories?
11. To what extent is there a correlation between fantasy and (a) ratings of adjustment, (b) ratings of behavior, (c) pupils' answers to questions, (d) age, (e) sex?
12. To what extent is there agreement between a theme analysis based on a pre-formed list of themes and themes which are discovered as a result of making a thematic inventory?

13. To what extent do separate pictures yield characteristic themes?

As a result of this inquiry, it is hoped that light will be thrown on the value of the picture-story method in the clinical diagnosis of personality, in counseling, and in education. In particular, evidence will be presented to indicate the relative values of a psychometric and of an analytic method of evaluating fantasies for personality study.

II. A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON THE THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

THE PICTURE-STORY METHOD on which this study is based is an adaptation of a method of personality study devised by Murray, which he has called the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). As a background for the present work, therefore, it seems appropriate to review the literature on this test. It will be found that most of the conclusions reached in the present study have already been demonstrated or at least hinted at by those who have worked with and investigated the TAT.

Historical Background

If we pass over the work of Binet,¹ who, in his genius collected stories for use in psychological experimentation, we shall see that the first antecedent of Murray's method was a study of imagination by Brittain,² who, as one of the contributors in G. Stanley Hall's child-study movement, made a comprehensive study of imaginative processes in children. Among the many methods employed was the collection of stories which were written in response to pictures. Brittain was interested in the nature of the stories and contrasted the productions of boys and girls. He trod surprisingly near the present conception of the use of productions as a method of personality study, but failed to note that the characteristics in the stories told might reveal something of the personality of the teller. In this same period Libby³ published a study on "The Imagination of Adolescents." Although Libby saw the close relationship between imagination and feeling, his paper was mainly an analysis of writing, of details in the picture which were observed, and of rhythm, and there was no psychological interpretation of the stories he collected or reference to

¹ Alfred Binet, *L'Etude expérimentale de l'intelligence*. Paris, Schleicher, 1903.

² Brittain, "A Study in Imagination," *Pedagogical Seminary*, XIV (1907), 137-207.

³ Libby, "The Imagination of Adolescents," *American Journal of Psychology*, XIX (1908), 249-252.

projection. Coming down to a more recent time, Schwartz,⁴ a psychiatrist, prepared a set of pictures for the purpose of studying delinquents, much in the same way that the TAT was subsequently used. His pictures had an obviously moralistic tone, and, although they attracted some attention at the time, they were not extensively used. Schwartz proposed dividing responses into four categories: (1) imaginative life of the child, (2) bodily pleasure, (3) adjustive thinking, (4) the expression of emotions such as fear, love, etc.

The real beginning of the TAT, however, was reported in a paper published by Morgan and Murray⁵ in 1935. Although the guiding spirit in this development was Murray, he generously gave his co-worker, Mrs. Morgan, chief credit in the paper which describes the test. It was called a "Thematic Apperception Test" because it was believed that in making up stories in response to pictures an individual tends to apperceive his own past experiences and that these apperceptions contain themas which are personality trends of the story-teller. Murray later elaborated this test and included it among a number of other so-called projective techniques in his book *Explorations in Personality*.⁶ Most of the development of the TAT has been carried on at the Harvard Psychological Clinic. Sanford,⁷ who used the test in his study of physique, personality, and scholarship in the Shady Hill School in Belmont, Mass., prepared a mimeographed manual including directions for the administration and scoring of the TAT in 1941. The test has now gone through three editions published by the Harvard University Press, and a fourth edition of the pictures is now being planned. The manual accompanying the third edition of the test,⁸ printed by the Harvard University Printing Office in 1943, may be considered the most authoritative statement on the use of this test available today.

Clark,⁹ working at the University of Southern California, has de-

⁴ Schwartz, "Social-Situation Pictures in the Psychiatric Interview," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, II (1932), 124-133.

⁵ Morgan and Murray, "A Method for Investigating Phantasies; the Thematic Apperception Test," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, XXXIV (1935), 289-306.

⁶ Murray, *Explorations in Personality*.

⁷ Sanford, "Thematic Apperception Test: Directions for Administration and Scoring," Harvard Psychological Clinic, ca. 1941, mimeographed.

⁸ Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*.

⁹ Clark, "A Method of Administering and Evaluating the Thematic Apperception Test," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XXX (1944), 3-55.

vised a group method for administering the TAT and has experimented with a multiple choice form for indicating the response to the pictures.

One of the most helpful discussions of the use of this test is included in the second of Rapaport's¹⁰ two volumes on Diagnostic Psychological Testing. Murray¹¹ has emphasized throughout his work the analysis of the content of the stories, and the TAT has been considered as the principal psychological tool for fathoming the content of a person's fantasy. Rapaport,¹² on the other hand, has placed more emphasis on the significance of formal factors in the test.

Values and Use

The TAT was quickly picked up by psychologists as a tool for use in the deeper study of personality. It is frequently bracketed with the Rorschach test, the Rorschach giving clues as to the *structure* of personality, and the TAT the *content* of personality. Increasingly its value as an aid in obtaining personal history and in making personality studies is being realized. It has been proposed as a valuable tool for use in psychiatric diagnosis, providing a rapid method for studying the psychodynamics¹³ of an individual, for portraying some of the relationships of an individual with others who are close to him,¹⁴ and more recently for studying attitudes and sentiments.¹⁵

The TAT has also demonstrated its value as an aid in planning and carrying out psychotherapy.¹⁶ In the first place, it provides information for assisting the psychiatrist in planning the type of treatment

¹⁰ Rapaport and others, *Diagnostic Psychological Testing: the Theory, Statistical Evaluation, and Diagnostic Application of a Battery of Tests*, Vol. II.

¹¹ Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*.

¹² Rapaport and others, *Diagnostic Psychological Testing*, Vol. II.

¹³ Lasaga y Travieso and Martinez-Arango, "Some Suggestions concerning the Administration and Interpretation of the T.A.T.," *Journal of Psychology*, XXII (1946), 117-163, at p. 157. Jacques, "The Clinical Use of the Thematic Apperception Test with Soldiers," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XL (1945), 363-375, at p. 374.

¹⁴ Masserman and Balken, "The Psychoanalytic and Psychiatric Significance of Phantasy," *Psychoanalytic Review*, XXVI (1939), 343-379, 535-549, at p. 537.

¹⁵ Murray and Morgan, "A Clinical Study of Sentiments," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 32: 1-149, 150-311. 1945.

¹⁶ Lasaga y Travieso and Martinez-Arango, "Some Suggestions concerning the Administration and Interpretation of the T.A.T.," *Journal of Psychology*, XXII (1946), 117-163, at p. 157.

which is best adapted to the needs of a given patient.¹⁷ For instance, by revealing some of the psychodynamics in a case it can help a psychiatrist reach a decision as to whether long and intensive psychoanalysis is required or a more superficial and short-term process of psychotherapy. The TAT provides clues as to the probable course and length of an analysis.¹⁸ It also provides clues showing whether the subject should be analyzed by a man or by a woman. The TAT may provide information concerning the nature of the transference,¹⁹ and the stories may give some indication of the attitude of the patient to the therapist. If repeated, the test may indicate the progress and direction of the psychotherapy.²⁰ It is true that everything revealed by the TAT would also be revealed in an extensive analysis, but the TAT provides clues concerning an individual's problems, tensions, conflicts, and mechanisms which the skillful psychotherapist can utilize in planning the treatment or early in the course of treatment as a means of guiding it.

The TAT also has a small, direct psychotherapeutic value. Telling the stories themselves may initiate a process of release and some insight may be gained through the act of telling stories.

Theory Underlying the Thematic Apperception Test

ADAPTATION

Bellak,²¹ in a penetrating analysis of projective techniques, has suggested that in any free response there are three elements: *adaptation, expression, and projection*. Adaptation is the feature of the response which is determined by the stimulus. Expression relates to the form

¹⁷ Morgan and Murray, "A Method for Investigating Phantasies; the Thematic Apperception Test," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, XXXIV (1935), 289-306, at p. 306.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, at p. 306.

¹⁹ Masserman and Balken, "The Clinical Application of Phantasy Studies," *Journal of Psychology*, VI (1938), 81-88, at p. 83. Masserman and Balken, "The Psychoanalytic and Psychiatric Significance of Phantasy," *Psychoanalytic Review*, XXVI (1939), 343-379, 535-549, at p. 535.

²⁰ Masserman and Balken, "The Clinical Application of Phantasy Studies," *Journal of Psychology*, VI (1938), 81-88, at p. 87. Lasaga y Travieso and Martinez-Arango, "Some Suggestions concerning the Administration and Interpretation of the T.A.T.," *Journal of Psychology*, XXII (1946), 117-163, at p. 157.

²¹ Bellak, "An Experimental Investigation of Projection," *Psychological Bulletin*, XXXIX (1942), 489-490.

of the response as determined by the habits and skills of the individual. Projection refers to the attribution of characteristics in the response which are true of the person making the response. The first feature of the response, adaptation, varies with the degree of the exactness and definiteness of the stimulus; also with the nature of the task which is given to the subject. If the stimulus is vague, formless, and unstructured, then it exercises little control over the response, and the response will be determined largely by psychological factors in the subject. On the other hand, if the stimulus is exact and clearly defined, then it will exercise a larger degree of control over the response. The TAT tends to be more adaptive than some of the other projective techniques, because the pictures which serve as a stimulus are more clearly defined and more highly structured. For instance, the TAT is clearly more adaptive than the Rorschach;²² that is, its responses are determined more largely by the nature of the stimulus. It is, perhaps, for this reason, in part, that the TAT and the Rorschach serve to supplement each other so helpfully.²³

EXPRESSION

Because the stimulus is more exact and more clearly defined in the TAT, the form of response plays a less significant role than it plays in the Rorschach, where the response is more completely determined by inner tendencies within the individual. It has been found that the formal factors in the TAT are less diagnostic than they are in the Rorschach. It is undoubtedly true that the form of the story and the language used in the TAT has diagnostic significance, but one would turn to the Rorschach for a more thoroughgoing display of formal characteristics.

PROJECTION

The principal value of the TAT is the opportunity it provides for a subject to project his experiences, desires, and conflicts and to attribute these to characters which he introduces into the stories which he tells. Bellak²⁴ contrasts the *projection* which is found in the TAT with the *displacement* of tendencies which is found, for instance, in children's play with toys. If a child shows hostility toward a doll

²² Bellak, "The Concept of Projection," *Psychiatry*, VII (1944), 353-370, at p. 366.

²³ Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*.

²⁴ Bellak, "The Concept of Projection," *Psychiatry*, VII (1944), 353-370, at p. 368.

figure, this has been demonstrated to be in the nature of a displacement of a child's expression of his hostility for a parent or a sibling figure to the doll figure. Projection in doll play, on the other hand, would show itself in attributing hostility to the doll figure. In the telling of stories, this procedure, of course, is typical. The subject in identifying himself with some character in the story projects into that character his own desires, attitudes, conflicts, and inner tendencies. However, this projection is carried out with a certain caution and circumspection. Unlike dreams, in which, through distortion, deep and highly unacceptable impulses find symbolic expression, the stories told in the TAT must meet not only the standards of acceptability of the person to whom the story is told but also the subject's own standards of what is acceptable. Consequently, only those inner tendencies break through into expression which are fairly acceptable to the ego.²⁵ The TAT, therefore, may be said to delineate the defenses of the individual against unconscious material.

Criteria for the Selection of Pictures

Murray experimented with a large number of pictures before he finally selected those to be included in his test. Naturally, the pictures which are most valuable are those which yield the greatest range and depth of fantasy and bring out many facets of the personality. A study by the writer²⁶ attempted to discover the characteristics of pictures which yield the best results in the TAT process by having a set of pictures rated for characteristics and also the stories elicited by these pictures rated for their range, depth, and significance of fantasy and determining which stories yielded the best results. Conclusions were reached that the pictures that were most valuable for this purpose (a) showed a lack of detail in their background, (b) were vague in theme and incomplete in content, and (c) included characters with whom the subject might identify, that is, figures of the same sex and approximately the same age. Subsequent studies in the use of the TAT for the study of attitudes indicate that when one's purpose is to discover a subject's attitudes on a particular topic, it is necessary to

²⁵ Balken and Vander Veer, "The Clinical Application of a Test of Imagination to Neurotic Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XII (1942), 68-80.

²⁶ Symonds, "Criteria for the Selection of Pictures for the Investigation of Adolescent Phantasies," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXIV (1939), 271-274.

select pictures which will stimulate a reaction to this particular topic.²⁷ Murray, for instance, has used the TAT to make special studies of attitudes toward war, minority groups, and sex.

Administration

Murray²⁹ suggests that the TAT may be used with children as young as four and with those of all older ages, but certainly the stories told by the youngest children would be fragmentary. However, Sanford³⁰ has demonstrated that the TAT can be used successfully with children in the elementary school.

Murray³¹ emphasizes the importance of a sympathetic environment. Not only should the physical environment be inviting but also the examiner should show receptivity, good will, and appreciation of the efforts made by his subject.

The directions are somewhat standardized.³² Balken³³ suggests that in administering the TAT to a child the word "test" should not be mentioned; rather the child should be told that he is going to have an opportunity of making up stories or even of playing a game. With subjects of all ages the imaginative nature of the test is emphasized, and the subject is challenged to produce stories that will demonstrate "his creative imagination." Given this motivation, the subject is caught off guard, and the true purpose of the test is hidden.

Murray³⁴ suggests keeping the stories within a time limit. He proposes that ten stories should be given in an hour's session and suggests interrupting a subject before the stories become too long and rambling. From his experience the average adult may be expected to produce stories with an average length of 300 words, whereas a ten-year-old child may produce stories averaging 150 words.

In his latest revision Murray proposes securing the stories in two

²⁷ Proshansky, "A Projective Method for the Study of Attitudes," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXVIII (1943), 393-395, at p. 393.

²⁸ Murray and Morgan, "A Clinical Study of Sentiments," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XXXII (1945), 1-149, 150-311.

²⁹ Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*.

³⁰ Sanford and others, *Physique, Personality, and Scholarship*.

³¹ Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Balken and Vander Veer, "The Clinical Application of the Thematic Apperception Test to Neurotic Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XIV (1944), 421-440, at p. 422.

³⁴ Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*.

sessions. The purpose of the break is to encourage the production of more fantastic stories on the second day.³⁵ Certain resistances which may be present on the first occasion may be relaxed at the second session, and on the second occasion the subject typically will produce stories which penetrate to deeper levels of the personality.

Murray suggests as a general rule the acceptance of only one story to a picture in the interests of economy of time. However, Lasaga y Travieso and Martinez-Arango³⁶ suggest that in the case of disturbed patients one should permit violations of this rule in order to obtain the range of fantasy to a given stimulus.

As regards recording, the general practice is to have the examiner write the story as given by the subject in longhand. Occasionally the examiner must secure the co-operation of the subject in keeping the speed of the story within bounds. The ability to use shorthand would be an advantage to an examiner. The use of mechanical recording is suggested by Renaud.³⁷ Various group methods have been tried. In general it is found that when pictures are projected on a screen and the subject is asked to write his own story, the procedure takes longer than when the stories are told orally. Clark³⁸ believes that the multiple-choice method of recording responses does not portray needs as accurately as does the method in which a subject writes his own story. The best results in the multiple-choice method are obtained when it is preceded by a TAT in which the subject writes his own stories.

After one has gained experience with the pictures, variations in the use of separate pictures may be introduced. Lasaga y Travieso and Martinez-Arango³⁹ suggest that picture 12-M, in which the scene is a man lying on a couch being hypnotized by another man, be given first in order to test the transference relationship. These writers also suggest that when using the blank card among the pictures the story

³⁵ Lasaga y Travieso and Martinez-Arango, "Some Suggestions concerning the Administration and Interpretation of the T.A.T.," *Journal of Psychology*, XXII (1946), 117-163, at p. 122.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, at p. 121.

³⁷ Renaud, "Group Differences in Fantasies: Head Injuries, Psychoneurotics, and Brain Diseases," *Journal of Psychology*, XXI (1946), 327-346, at p. 334.

³⁸ Clark, "A Method of Administering and Evaluating the Thematic Apperception Test," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XXX (1944), 3-55.

³⁹ Lasaga y Travieso and Martinez-Arango, "Some Suggestions concerning the Administration and Interpretation of the T.A.T.," *Journal of Psychology*, XXII (1946), 117-163, at p. 119.

be secured before the subject is asked to describe the picture which he imagines.

Factors Influencing the Results

Numerous experiments have been performed with the TAT under varying conditions, and enough has been done to demonstrate that various factors markedly influence the stories which are told. For instance, Masserman and Balken⁴⁰ state that the immediate surroundings have an influence on fantasy. Fantasy production in the hospital would differ from that outside the hospital. In the consulting room it would differ from that obtained in natural surroundings where one would feel the inhibiting influence of custom. The education, intelligence, culture, experiences, and interests of the subject all help to determine the nature of his fantasy production. Fantasy is very much conditioned by time and place, by class membership and cultural background.

Fantasy is also a function of age. Young children⁴¹ tend to describe what they see in the picture rather than to tell a story, and their enumeration is more fragmentary. The material is less closely attached to definite objects, people, or situations and tends to be more free floating. Children give greater emphasis to sensation and erotic feelings⁴² and are less concerned with self-assertion and self-defense. Children under ten notably lack concern with moral issues. The association between hostility and guilt does not appear clearly in young children,⁴³ and their defense mechanisms are simple, usually little more than repression or denial.⁴⁴ Older children, above ten, on the other hand, tell longer stories, using more thematic material.⁴⁵ Their needs are more intense and they employ a greater variety of defenses, including restitution, atonement, renunciation, reaction formation,

⁴⁰ Masserman and Balken, "The Clinical Application of Phantasy Studies," *Journal of Psychology*, VI (1938), 81-88, at p. 85.

⁴¹ Balken and Vander Veer, "The Clinical Application of the Thematic Apperception Test to Neurotic Children, *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XIV (1944), 421-440, at p. 435.

⁴² Sanford and others, *Physique, Personality, and Scholarship*, p. 275.

⁴³ Balken and Vander Veer, "The Clinical Application of the Thematic Apperception Test to Neurotic Children, *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XIV (1944), 421-440, at p. 439.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

⁴⁵ Sanford and others, *Physique, Personality, and Scholarship*, p. 269.

displacement, and achievement.⁴⁶ Older children are more concerned with ego status, with control over self, and with problems of inferiority. They show more concern with guilt and methods of reducing guilt.⁴⁷

Sex differences in the telling of the stories have also been noted. Boys, for instance,⁴⁸ write longer stories with greater thematic content. The stories of boys are more aggressive, more self-assertive, and more materialistic. Stories told by boys are more preoccupied with blame, remorse, and fear of punishment than those told by girls. Stories told by girls are more concerned with social relations, and the girls are more susceptible to rejection and rebuff by others. Girls' stories are more concerned with sensations and feelings, as contrasted with the greater materialistic evaluation of events by boys.

A significant experiment by Murray,⁴⁹ reported several years ago, indicates that fear increases the tendency to judge the persons in the pictures as malicious. When a person is in a state of fear, the characters in the pictures and consequently in his stories seem more fearsome. Two studies, one by Rodnick and Klebanoff,⁵⁰ the other by Bellak,⁵¹ indicate that when a subject is in a state of frustration and under stress, distinct changes take place in the character of his stories. Most important is the increase in verbal aggression.⁵² The environment seems more hostile; more conflict is shown; there is an increased tendency to project; and the effectiveness of the superego is reduced, resulting in the breaking down of customary restraints and intolerances. Bellak found that after subjects had been criticized for the poor quality of their stories their subsequent stories showed an increase in themes of aggression, while Rodnick and Klebanoff reported that there was

⁴⁶ Balken and Vander Veer, "The Clinical Application of the Thematic Apperception Test to Neurotic Children, *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XIV (1944), 421-440.

⁴⁷ Sanford and others, *Physique, Personality, and Scholarship*, p. 275.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

⁴⁹ Murray, "Effect of Fear on Estimates of Maliciousness of Other Personalities," *Journal of Social Psychology*, IV (1933), 310-329; also in S. S. Tomkins, *Contemporary Psychopathology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943), pp. 545-561.

⁵⁰ Rodnick and Klebanoff, "Projective Reactions to Induced Frustration as a Measure of Social Adjustment," *Psychological Bulletin*, XXXIX (1942), at p. 489.

⁵¹ Bellak, "An Experimental Investigation of Projection," *Psychological Bulletin* XXXIX, 489-490 (1942), at p. 362.

⁵² Shakow and others, "A Psychological Study of a Schizophrenic," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLI (1945), 154-174, at p. 155.

a decrease, at least among poorly adjusted individuals, of themes concerning individual superiority and in themes dealing with emotional states.

Rapport with the examiner has been suggested as an important factor which conditions the character of the stories told. The prestige of the examiner effects the results,⁵³ and his attitude, whether accepting or critical, may have important influences. Murray⁵⁴ believes that the thematic content of stories would differ according to the sex of the examiner.

A study by Tomkins⁵⁵ in which the TAT was administered daily for a long number of sessions suggests that at least twenty sessions are required to bring out all the significant themes in a person. This would suggest that results of the TAT administered in a single session by no means exhaust the possible range of themes which might be expressed by an individual over a longer period of time and under varying environmental conditions. A similar factor is the stage of therapy. It is believed that as therapy progresses and an individual's attitudes become modified, the character of his thematic productions would also change. Lasaga y Travieso and Martinez-Arango⁵⁶ have found that the blank space in the third edition of the TAT causes an unusually long reaction time. This suggests that each picture has its own stimulating qualities and would call forth unique fantasies.

Norms

Not enough work has as yet been done on the TAT to provide satisfactory norms which would enable us to formulate any general expectations and also with regard to subjects from special groups. Harrison⁵⁷ has suggested the desirability of norms for length of story, story time, ratings on a happiness scale, and thematic content. The rough norms proposed by Murray for story length have already

⁵³ Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*.

⁵⁴ Murray, *Explorations in Personality*.

⁵⁵ Tomkins, "Limits of Material Obtainable in a Single Case Study by Daily Administration of the Thematic Apperception Test," *Psychological Bulletin*, XXXIX (1942), 490.

⁵⁶ Lasaga y Travieso and Martinez-Arango, "Some Suggestions concerning the Administration and Interpretation of the T.A.T.," *Journal of Psychology*, XXII (1946), 117-163, at p. 124.

⁵⁷ Harrison, "The Thematic Apperception and the Rorschach Methods of Personality Investigation in Clinical Procedure," *Journal of Psychology*, XV (1943), 49-74.

been quoted. One thematic count has already been made by Kutash,⁵⁸ but inasmuch as this is for the performance of psychopathic criminals there is some reluctance to make general use of these tables. In scanning Kutash's tables and comparing them with my own results, I have found a considerable degree of similarity, which leads me to speculate that one may expect similar thematic content even from groups having different characteristics and backgrounds. However, this remains to be demonstrated. Rapaport⁵⁹ has provided a serviceable table, based on his clinical experience, describing the typical themes to be expected for each picture. This table may be used in studying the deviations of the stories of a subject from expectation and will aid in determining the degree to which thematic material in the stories is significant.

Principles of Interpretation

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

In this section some of the principles to be used in interpreting the TAT, as they have been described by various workers, will be reviewed. However, before the principles themselves are described it is necessary to make a few introductory remarks. In the first place, not every individual tells significant stories.⁶⁰ The stories of some individuals are remarkably flat and obviously do not tell much about the person who related them. There are criteria for determining significance which will be mentioned later. Further, not every story told by any one individual should be expected to have significance. Indeed, as one reviews the stories told by a given individual, it will be found that only a few contain really vital materials and that others tend to be relatively sterile. Rapaport⁶¹ makes a distinction between "essential ideational content" and "clichés." By "essential ideational content" he refers to the themes which indicate strivings and tendencies of central importance to the individual. These are the deeper impulses, wishes, and tendencies. By a "cliché" he has in mind the defensive characteristics of a story which are a product of the various defense mechanisms

⁵⁸ Kutash, "Performance of Psychopathic Deviate Criminals on the Thematic Apperception Test," *Journal of Clinical Psychopathology*, V (1943), 319-340, at p. 329.

⁵⁹ Rapaport and others, *Diagnostic Psychological Testing: the Theory, Statistical Evaluation, and Diagnostic Application of a Battery of Tests*, II, 421.

⁶⁰ Sanford and others, *Physique, Personality, and Scholarship*, p. 301.

⁶¹ Rapaport and others, *Diagnostic Psychological Testing: the Theory, Statistical Evaluation, and Diagnostic Application of a Battery of Tests*, II, 412.

which the individual has set up to hide his deeper and more basic tendencies. For instance, an obsessive person may tell stories in which there is indecision, which successfully avoids turning the story in the direction of some repressed tendency.

From time to time at climactic points in the story the individual may be in doubt as to how he should make the story turn out. The indecision in itself is a protection against revealing some of the deeper and more dangerous fantasies which are on the threshold of expression. Quite generally such an individual will adopt a relatively safe and innocuous method of telling the story in order to protect himself from revealing his deeper fantasies.

CRITERIA OF SIGNIFICANCE

Various criteria to guide the interpreter of the stories as to their significance have been proposed. For instance, it has been suggested that in order to rank as of major importance, a theme should be repeated in a series of stories. Sarason⁶² has suggested that a theme should be repeated at least once before it should be considered significant. Rapaport,⁶³ on the other hand, has suggested that significance cannot be determined by the frequency of single motifs, but by the meaningful relationship of several themes. This last point is extremely important. In general, any mechanical method of attempting to interpret the TAT by an accounting procedure is ineffective and sterile; the significance is apparent only after studying the relationships. A second criterion of significance is the amount of independence the story has;⁶⁴ that is, if the picture is virtually disregarded and the story is constructed with little reference to its content, then it may be assumed that the story has high significance for the individual. A third criterion is the coherence of the story: the less coherent it is, the more significance it has. However this criterion does not always hold. Finally, the vehemence with which the story is told may be considered as a fourth criterion of significance.

⁶² Sarason, "The Use of the Thematic Apperception Test with Mentally Retarded Children," *American Journal of Mental Deficiency*, XLVII (April, 1943), 414-421, at p. 415.

⁶³ Rapaport, "The Clinical Application of the Thematic Apperception Test," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, VII (1943), 106-113, at p. 113.

⁶⁴ Lasaga y Travieso and Martinez-Arango, "Some Suggestions concerning the Administration and Interpretation of the T.A.T.," *Journal of Psychology*, XXII (1946), 117-163, at p. 134.

Murray⁶⁵ suggests assigning ratings to each variable in the thematic analysis. Although recognized as important, this advice has not been followed by subsequent workers as a general practice. Indeed, the trend seems to be less toward quantitative analysis and more toward a qualitative and interpretive analysis of the thematic content.

Jacques⁶⁶ points to the danger that the examiner will project his own personality in his interpretations. This danger must be recognized, yet it should not be taken as an insuperable drawback to the use of the TAT. Analytic interpretations must, of necessity, grow out of recognition of impulses, feelings, and conflicts, and the interpreter cannot recognize these in the story and subsequently in the subject telling the story unless he himself possesses these same tendencies. This is a necessary condition of all analytic interpretation.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

Murray proposed the general outlines for content analysis in his first descriptions of the test.⁶⁷ He proposed analyzing the stories of a given individual into their *needs* (desires, wishes, impulses, tendencies), *press* (the environmental forces influencing an individual), and *themas* (combinations of specific need and press). In his book *Explorations in Personality* Murray elaborated this proposed procedure by giving long lists of some thirty or more needs and an equivalent number of press, with a promise that a list of themas would be forthcoming. Subsequent workers have not followed Murray's suggestions by making this exacting and difficult analysis, but have used a simpler type of analysis based, however, on the same general principles.

The following outline includes some of the major points that should be considered in making a content analysis of a set of TAT stories.

1. *Hero—principal identification.* Murray suggests in his revised manual⁶⁸ as a first step in interpretation a determination of the hero or principal character in the story. He finds that each story will have one or more heroes which will be identified either with the individual telling the story or with his father, mother, brother, sister, marital mate,

⁶⁵ Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*, p. 8.

⁶⁶ Jacques, "The Clinical Use of the Thematic Apperception Test with Soldiers," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XL (1945), 363-375, at p. 364.

⁶⁷ Morgan and Murray, "A Method for Investigation Phantasies: the Thematic Apperception Test," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, XXXIV (1935), 289-306.

⁶⁸ Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*.

or child. The following criteria have been suggested for determining the principal character.

1. The principal character is a figure depicted in the picture.⁶⁹
2. He is the character in whom the story-teller is most interested.
3. He is the character whose point of view is adopted in the story.
4. He is the character who shares the subject's sentiments and aims.
5. He is the character about whom the plot is constructed.⁷⁰
6. He is the character who appears at the beginning and at the end of a story.
7. He is the character whose reactions are more dramatically described.
8. He is the character who is most like the subject in age, sex, social status, and role.
9. He is the character whose inner feelings and motives are best understood and portrayed.

However, it should not be assumed that every story has one and only one hero. Murray finds a number of different combinations in the stories which have come under his purview. For instance, the most typical story is that in which there is one main hero.⁷¹ However, there may be various heroes in succession, or two or more heroes may depict opposite sides of the subject's character, or there may be a primary and a secondary hero. In the latter connection, insignificant characters in the stories may well represent important identification of deeper and more hidden aspects of the subject's character. Occasionally one will find the hero to be an individual of the opposite sex, indicating a cross identification. Murray has examined stories in which there are a number of equally significant, equally differentiated partial heroes. He also warns that some subjects may tell stories in which the chief character belongs to the opposite side of the subject-object situation. In other words, the story may be told from the point of view of the real hero's father or mother or some other person to whom the subject is related. Finally, there may be a group or collective hero,⁷² or the hero may even be some animal or an abstract belief or quality.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁷⁰ Richardson, "The Personality of Stutterers," *Psychological Monographs*, Vol. LVI (1944), 10. No. 1, Whole No. 260.

⁷¹ Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*, p. 7.

⁷² Wekstein, "A Preliminary Outline for a Fantasy Projection Technique As a Clinical Instrument," *Journal of Psychology*, XIX (1945), 341-346, at p. 344.

Murray⁷³ has suggested that the hero in a story may represent different aspects of the subject who tells the story. For instance, the hero may do things that the subject has done or things that he has wanted to do. Or the hero may depict more elementary, unconscious forces within the subject. In some cases the hero exhibits feelings or desires that the subject is experiencing at the moment, but which may not be a very real or important aspect of the personality. Finally, the hero in the story may be an anticipation of the subject's future behavior.

In addition to discovering the hero in a story, it is important to characterize him. Following are some of the ways in which the hero may be described.⁷⁴ He may be described as to his adequacy or inadequacy; his superiority or his inferiority; with regard to masculinity or femininity; his ascendance (as shown by leadership) or submission (as shown by passivity); his extroversion or his introversion (seclusiveness); his goodness or his badness (criminality); his mental normality or his abnormality; his good or his poor social relationships (quarrelsomeness); and his emotional security or his feeling of anxiety and guilt.

2. *Needs, motives, desires, wishes, drives, and feelings of hero.* Murray has presented several lists of needs⁷⁵ which may be used as a classificatory scheme for tabulating needs. Each list that Murray presents differs from the preceding, indicating that there is not and never can be any one complete and fully acceptable list of needs. Combs⁷⁶ presents a list of thirty-eight desires growing out of his experience with the TAT. Richardson⁷⁷ and Clark⁷⁸ use a list of five needs which they say they have taken from Travis and Baruch's *Everyday Problems in Everyday Life*. Sanford⁷⁹ presents a list of

⁷³ Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*, p. 14.

⁷⁴ Wekstein, "A Preliminary Outline for a Fantasy Projection Technique As a Clinical Instrument," *Journal of Psychology*, XIX (1945), 341-346, at p. 344. Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*, p. 7.

⁷⁵ Murray, *Explorations in Personality*. Sanford, "Thematic Apperception Test." Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*.

⁷⁶ Combs, "A Method of Analysis for the Thematic Apperception Test and Autobiography," *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, II (1946), 167-174, at p. 169.

⁷⁷ Richardson, "The Personality of Stutterers," *Psychological Monographs*, Vol. 56, No. 1, at p. 10. Whole No. 260, 1944.

⁷⁸ Clark, "A Method of Administering and Evaluating the Thematic Apperception Test," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XXX (1944), at p. 27.

⁷⁹ Sanford and others, *Physique, Personality, and Scholarship*, p. 291.

five need syndromes, which is a result of his pattern analysis of the intercorrelations of a set of need ratings based on the Shady Hill data.

3. *Environmental force—press*. Murray⁸⁰ has presented several lists of press, but like his lists of needs each differs from the preceding one. Clark⁸¹ proposes an oversimplified analysis of environmental forces on a threefold level: frustrating, helpful, and neutral. Richardson⁸² presents a long list of frustrations. Sanford⁸³ presents three press syndromes to parallel his five need syndromes.

Murray⁸⁴ proposes a possible relation of situations in the stories to the experiences of the subject telling the stories which parallel his similar attributes of heroes. He suggests that the situations in the stories may be classified as those which the subject has actually encountered, those which he has dreamed of encountering, the momentary apperception as he perceives it, and the expectations which he expects to encounter, would like to encounter, or dreads to encounter.

4. *Outcomes*. A fourth point to be noted in the stories has to do with the outcome. Combs⁸⁵ presents a serviceable "action-outcome list" based on the analysis of stories he has collected in using the TAT. Richardson⁸⁶ presents a list of reactions to frustrations. Clark⁸⁷ proposes to classify the reactions of the "organism" to the environment as neurotic or positive. Clark also suggests classifying the ending of a story as satisfactory or unsatisfactory. This attempt to describe the outcome of a story should lead to a general description of the mood or atmosphere of the story.

5. *Themas*. The analysis of the themas in a set of stories goes to the heart of the content interpretations. In general, themas have to do with the dynamic elements in the story and the suggested classification which follows parallels closely the topics in the author's book

⁸⁰Murray, *Explorations in Personality*. Sanford, "Thematic Apperception Test." Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*.

⁸¹Clark, "A Method of Administering and Evaluating the Thematic Apperception Test," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XXX (1944), 3-55, at p. 27.

⁸²Richardson, "The Personality of Stutterers," *Psychological Monographs*, Vol. 56, No. 1, Whole No. 260, 1944, at p. 10.

⁸³Sanford and others, *Physique, Personality, and Scholarship*, p. 291.

⁸⁴Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*, p. 14.

⁸⁵Combs, "A Method of Analysis for the Thematic Apperception Test and Autobiography," *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, II (1946), 167-174, at p. 171.

⁸⁶Richardson, "The Personality of Stutterers," *Psychological Monographs*, Vol. 56, No. 1, Whole No. 260, 1944, at p. 10.

⁸⁷Clark, "A Method of Administering and Evaluating the Thematic Apperception Test," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XXX (1944), 3-55, at p. 27.

The Dynamics of Human Adjustment.⁸⁸ It is of first importance to note expressions of *aggression* and *hostility* on the one hand and of *love* on the other. With regard to aggression, it is important to note whether it is given to or received by the hero and the person toward whom it is directed, or the person from whom received. It is important also to note the form that it takes—whether rebellion, criticalness, rejection, coercion, death wishes, sexual curiosity, attempt to arouse envy in others, and so forth. Finally, methods of handling aggression should be noted; that is, the extent to which the aggression is disguised (as in a story in which an accident befalls a mother figure and the hero is the comforting husband) or by dissociation (as when a character asserts that he didn't know that he was committing the hostile act).

Likewise, with regard to *love* and *erotic* themes it is important to note whether love is given or received by the hero and whether a younger or an older person appeals to the hero and someone of the same or of the opposite sex. It is important to note the form that the love feeling takes—whether it is desire for affection, desire to belong and to overcome loneliness (as in a wish to return home), a desire for money (as a symbol of love), or a desire for recognition. Seldom will there be a direct reference to sex in TAT stories. However, love frequently results in marriage, and the analyst should be alert to suggestions of incestuous tendencies, wish to be a parent, the wish for a baby, and so forth. The first analysis given by Morgan and Murray⁸⁹ includes a "tragic love" theme (failure of love). Running away from and renunciation of love, which sometimes is shown by the attempt to escape to new surroundings, should be noted. Adoption of a child into a new family reveals attitudes both toward the family into which the child is adopted as well as the family which it leaves.

The analyst should be sensitive to *ambivalences*; that is, feelings of hostility and of love directed toward the same person.

A natural sequence to aggressive impulses is *punishment*, which will be found to have frequent expression in TAT stories. With regard to punishment, it should be noted whether the punishment is given or received by the hero, and the person to whom it is adminis-

⁸⁸ Published by Appleton-Century Crofts, Inc., 1946.

⁸⁹ Morgan and Murray, "A Method for Investigating Phantasies," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, XXXIV (1935), 289-306.

tered or from whom it is received, as well as forms of punishment, should also be noted.

The next theme in sequence is *anxiety*. The danger accompanying the anxiety or the specific nature of the fear should be observed—whether it be fear of separation or of rejection, of retribution, of illness, of lack of food and protection, of loss of job, of failure, and so forth.

Following anxiety the analyst should note the various *defenses* which have been raised as a protection against the anxiety. It will not be possible in this outline to mention all the varieties of defenses against anxiety of which the analyst should be aware. However, a few that are of particular importance may be mentioned. One should be sensitive to a possible denial of passivity or a denial of the hostility of others. Tendencies toward self-assertion, as evidenced by boasting, ambition, and achievement, should be recognized as possible defenses against anxiety. Repressions, as they may be noted in the stories, are of particular importance. One should also be sensitive to the need for submission and seeking support and guidance from others. Hysterical symptoms may appear in the stories and should serve as indicators of defense against anxiety.

The interpreter of the TAT should be alert to *moral standards* and *moral conflicts* as they are exhibited in the stories. Many subjects are sensitive to issues of right and wrong and not infrequently will introduce two characters into a story to represent two opposing moral tendencies within themselves.

Conflicts of all kinds and on all levels are revealed through the TAT, as characters in the stories are torn by conflicting desires or are held back by their superego standards.

Stories frequently reveal *guilt* tendencies, although the interpreter must be willing to read between the lines, for it is seldom that there is an open reference to guilt or that the word itself is used. Its presence is shown by efforts made to reduce it. The analyst should be particularly alert to the possible source of guilt, whether it is guilt over aggression or aggressive tendencies or concerning sexual activity or impulses. The analyst should also be alert to measures taken to reduce the intensity of guilt. Stories will show *masochistic* tendencies with considerable frequency. There will be obvious evidences of a need for punishment shown in outcomes of failure and inadequacy to episodes

in the story. Picture 17GF invites stories with suicidal tendencies. Many stories will include self-criticism and self-belittlement and other themes which have as their purpose *guilt reduction*, *remorse*, *saving* and *rescue*, the *giving of gifts*, *reparation* and *restitution*, the desire to *reform* oneself and others. *Religious faith* and *devotion* are signs of an effort to minimize guilt which has previously been aroused.

Another dynamic tendency revealed through the stories is *depression*, usually shown by themes of *discouragement* and *despair*. Frequently stories will alternate between episodes of defeat and discouragement to be followed by a turn of good fortune resulting in success and elation.

Finally, the TAT interpreter should be aware of *sublimative* tendencies as evidenced by vocations, avocations, hobbies, sports, artistic interests, scientific endeavors, and love of nature.

6. *Relationships*. TAT stories should also be inspected for the possible personal relationships which they reveal. One value of the TAT is that attitudes toward people which are expressed in the stories are often unconscious attitudes of the subject telling the story. Whereas the individual will express some attitudes directly on a conscious level, TAT stories may reveal unexpressed attitudes on a deeper level. One must beware of possible displacements in interpreting attitudes toward people. Attitudes toward characters in a story, such as employer, school teacher, or stranger, may in reality stand for attitudes toward someone who is emotionally close to the subject, for instance, a member of his own family. The nature of such displacements can be understood only when the interpreter is familiar with the life history of the subject.

In interpreting a set of stories one should be alert to relationships of love, hate, ambivalence, or fear expressed toward parents or parental figures. Also, one should be sensitive to the attitudes expressed by parental figures toward the hero. These may be projections of anxiety on the part of the subject or even wishes for self-punishment. Likewise, one should be sensitive to possible relationships with siblings or sibling figures and should note attitudes expressed toward siblings as well as the projected attitudes of siblings toward the heroes. Likewise, one should note relationships with teacher or teacher figures, employers or employer figures, pupils or pupil figures, and persons similarly associated.

7. *Interests and Attitudes*. Finally, the TAT can be used to show a variety of interests and attitudes on the deeper level as the subject portrays them in his stories. The recent study of Murray and Morgan⁹⁰ provides an illustration of this use of the TAT.

CONTENT INTERPRETATION

There is a growing belief that if one is to be successful in interpreting the significance in TAT stories one must understand the psychoanalytic theory of symptom formation.⁹¹ At least psychoanalytic theory offers more hypotheses and clues for the interpretation of fantasy material than does any other theory. However, all interpretations must be regarded as hypotheses.⁹² Unlike interpretations made for psychometric tests, there are no validated relationships which will enable a person to say that any thema in a story reflects a specific characteristic of the person telling the story. In this sense, then, the TAT differs from the Rorschach, which has set up a few universally valid meanings to Rorschach signs.

One issue of great importance is the possibility of blind interpretation of the TAT, that is, interpretation without knowing anything about the writer. Psychologists, in general, expect blind interpretations. They feel that if a TAT interpretation must be made in conjunction with knowledge of other facts about the individual who is being studied, it would be contaminated by these facts. Suggestion, it is believed, would play an irresistible part, and the TAT would apparently yield more information than was actually justified. Such a point of view indicates a misunderstanding of the nature of projective material and what it can be expected to reveal. The TAT does not yield precise facts or information. Rather, it reveals background motives and tendencies within the individual, which help to show the meaning and motivational significance of other known facts about an individual. Harrison⁹³ advocates blind analysis, and in his validity

⁹⁰ Murray and Morgan, "A Clinical Study of Sentiments," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XXXII (1945), 1-149, 150-311.

⁹¹ Balken and Vander Veer, "The Clinical Application of a Test of Imagination to Neurotic Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XII (1942), 68-80, at p. 70.

⁹² Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*, p. 14.

⁹³ Harrison, "The Thematic Apperception and the Rorschach Methods of Personality Investigation in Clinical Procedure," *Journal of Psychology*, XV (1943), 49-74, at p. 59.

study⁹⁴ asserts that he has been able to discover facts concerning the life status and life history of an individual with some percent accuracy. This experience is exceptional; it has not been substantiated by other workers. The experience of most workers has been that the TAT cannot be used with anything like this degree of assurance. Murray⁹⁵ states unequivocally that TAT analyses should always be checked or verified against case material. Murray⁹⁶ suggests that the TAT analyst should know at least the sex and the age of the subject, whether the parents are dead or separated, the age and sex of siblings, and the vocation and marital status of the subject. It is generally believed that studies are greatly needed which will show a possible correspondence between TAT material and case material on the subject being studied. The present investigation provides one such study.

It is not possible in this review to go into detail concerning the types of interpretation of TAT material. The best that can be done is to provide a few samples which indicate the kind of interpretations which various workers have made. It should be added that these interpretations should be considered highly tentative and hypothetical and should be verified, if possible, by direct case work or psychoanalytic study. Following are types of TAT content interpretations: Anxiety may be interpreted as arising from hostile impulses. Running away from home may be interpreted as the desire to escape from an unfriendly environment, but perhaps more realistically, an effort to find a new home and a new father or mother. Boasting may be interpreted as a denial of passivity. Lack of success may be interpreted as related to sexual impotence or as due to sexual excess, as in masturbation. Guilt may be interpreted as a consequence of destructive and hostile wishes. Suicide may be interpreted as self-punishment for aggressive wishes. These must serve as samples of the kind of interpretation which may be hazarded from TAT material.

It may also be possible to formulate hypotheses concerning the parent-child relationships of the subject. For instance, stories in which there are fears of injury and accident or in which there is anxiety over masculine strivings resulting in defeat may be related to overprotection

⁹⁴ Harrison, "Studies in the Use and Validity of the Thematic Apperception Test with Mentally Disordered Patients. II. Quantitative Validity Study," *Character and Personality*, IX (1940), 122-133, at pp. 123, 128.

⁹⁵ Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*, p. 6.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

as a child. This, again, must serve as a sample of possible hunches that one may dare to make from TAT material.

There is no doubt but that symbolism is present in many TAT stories. For instance, stealing may usually be assumed to be a sign of craving for love and security. We have already mentioned that one person may serve as a symbol of another person through displacement. Animals and even objects may serve as symbols of persons. Actions, situations, and qualities may serve as symbols of other actions, situations, and qualities which are more closely related to the individual and his life concerns.⁹⁷

Some observers have noted interesting and significant sequences in TAT material.⁹⁸ Sometimes these sequences may be found within a story itself. Others have noted sequences from one story to the next, so that it becomes necessary to consider a series or chain of stories in order to understand the dynamics of the forces at work. Still others find that the sequence takes place with the interpolation of innocuous stories jumping over an interval from one story to the next in sequence.⁹⁹ It is possible here only to indicate certain types of these sequences in order to give the reader a general notion of their nature and what to watch for. For instance, when a repressed wish finds somewhat open and undisguised expression it may be followed by sterile, evasive, and noncommittal material.¹⁰⁰ This sequence frequently covers several stories. One or more stories, for instance, may include considerable crime and aggression, and they may be followed by stories of a harmless and innocuous nature. Other sequences are hostility and aggression, followed by punishment; hostility and aggression, followed by guilt; guilt and self-punishment, followed by expressions of superiority; lack of achievement, followed by success.

All these sequences may be considered signs of resistance, since the person unwittingly reveals tendencies which he did not intend to reveal, not having himself noted their significance until after he had expressed them. He may find it necessary to attempt to cover up and

⁹⁷ Lasaga y Travieso and Martinez-Arango, "Some Suggestions concerning the Administration and Interpretation of the T.A.T.," *Journal of Psychology*, XXII (1946), 117-163, at p. 143.

⁹⁸ Balken and Vander Veer, "The Clinical Application of a Test of Imagination to Neurotic Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XII (1942), 68-80, at p. 72.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, XIV (1944), 421-440, at p. 424.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 424.

to retreat. These sequences then serve as a protection against fantasies that are too disturbing.

Murray¹⁰¹ suggests that there may be at least three levels on which an individual may express his personality. On the top level, he may express himself through behavior and speech intended to be observed by other persons. On the second level, he may have conscious and otherwise unexpressed fantasies, and on the third level are the repressed and unconscious fantasies. Murray believes that TAT stories are an expression of the personality of the subject told on the second level of conscious fantasy. Stories told in the first session tend to be from the outer layers of personality, but in the second session tendencies from the third and unconscious level will begin to appear in the stories.¹⁰²

Sanford¹⁰³ has the interesting theory that an acceptable need may be expressed in behavior and speech; whereas a need which is culturally unacceptable will not be expressed in behavior, but will find its expression in fantasy, both conscious and unconscious. According to this point of view, if need expresses itself in behavior, it is not necessary for it to find expression in fantasy; conversely, when it is expressed in fantasy and the need is not too pressing, there will be no necessity to express it in behavior. Accordingly, much of the material derived from the TAT may not show itself in the subject's direct and open behavior. This would indicate that there is not necessarily a one-to-one or even close correspondence between the TAT and the expressed personality of the subject. Sanford¹⁰⁴ believes that a need will be expressed in both fantasy and behavior when the needs are culturally acceptable or when a need is strong and the ego controls are weak, or when the need is encouraged into open expression in the culture. As in dreams, fantasies (particularly those that represent needs which are culturally unacceptable) are distorted by displacement, symbolization, and so forth, so that as they appear in the story they may be socially acceptable.¹⁰⁵ Because of these disguises and

¹⁰¹ Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*, p. 15.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁰³ Sanford and others, *Physique, Personality, and Scholarship*, p. 264. Bellak, "The Concept of Projection," *Psychiatry*, VII (1944), 353-370, at p. 365.

¹⁰⁴ Sanford and others, *Physique, Personality, and Scholarship*, p. 282. Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*, p. 16.

¹⁰⁵ Balken and Vander Veer, "The Clinical Application of a Test of Imagination to Neurotic Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XII (1942), 68-80, at p. 79.

distortions, the interpretations of TAT material put a special demand on the ingenuity and insight of the interpreter.

FORMAL ANALYSIS

The TAT was not originally designed for interpretation along formal lines. One experimenter, Wyatt,¹⁰⁶ who has made an intensive study of the formal aspects of the TAT, believes that these formal factors have relatively little to offer. Rapaport,¹⁰⁷ on the other hand, devotes considerable attention to the formal factors in line with his use of formal factors in other clinical procedures. In the following discussion there will first be presented an analysis and classification of formal factors as they have been mentioned by various workers. Following this classification there will be a brief discussion of the significance and interpretation of these formal factors.

1. *Procedure and method.* Among the factors to be noted with regard to procedure and method, the first is reaction time. Two measures of time have been proposed. The first is the interval between the presentation of the picture and the beginning of the story, and the second is the total time from the presentation of the picture until the story has been completed. Failure to make a story, rejection of the picture, and blocking, as shown in long reaction time and lengthy pauses in the course of a story, have been noted. The speed with which the story is told, whether very slow or at high speed, is another formal factor. Indecision in the telling of the story, such as being unable to decide between two possible alternatives and outcomes, has some significance. Blushing, restlessness, walking, and slumping in a chair have all been noted as formal factors. What the subject does with the card should be observed—whether he turns it, looks at the back, puts it down on the table, discards it entirely, responds to it by more than one story.

2. *Attitude.* The examiner should be sensitive to the attitude which a subject shows to the testing situation and to each card. Is the subject delighted to tell stories, or does he find it a difficult task? Is he politely and superficially compliant, but does he sabotage the effort by producing stories that are meaningless or inane? Is the subject evasive and does he attempt subtly to avoid the assignment? Does

¹⁰⁶ Wyatt, "Formal Aspects of the Thematic Apperception Test," *Psychological Bulletin*, XXXIX (1942), 491.

¹⁰⁷ Rapaport and others, *Diagnostic Psychological Testing*, Vol. II.

the subject show fear of the examiner and sullen subservience to his wishes?

3. *Special comments by subject.* The examiner should be aware and make note of any comments made by the subject before or after his story is told or interpolated during the course of the story. These comments may express like or dislike of the picture, its reality or unreality, or they may be interpretive remarks or questions. The subject may show sensitivity to the artist, the photographer, or the medium used. Some subjects are given to philosophical musings. After they have completed a story, they may offer a few moralistic or philosophical generalizations. Of special significance are such ejaculations as "That's a tough one!" or "The end!"

4. *Degree of significance of story.* The examiner should be sensitive to the strength or adequacy of the story as a story. In some cases the story is most superficial, while in other cases there may be a well-structured plot, with threads which are dropped and taken up again as the story progresses.

5. *Freedom.* The extent to which the subject is constricted or free in his story production should be noted. There may be a constriction and monotony of ideation, a constriction of freedom in imagination resulting in a stereotyped hackneyed quality in the stories, or the stories may be unusual and original. The examiner should note whether the stories are highly realistic and mature or whether they depart into bizarre and unrealistic fantasy.

6. *Fidelity.* It is important for the examiner to note the degree to which the story adheres to the picture. In some instances the subject feels the necessity of making the story fit the details of the pictures closely. In other cases there may be distortion of details, failure to respond to significant details, or even introduction into the story of objects or persons not in the picture. It is especially important to note any misinterpretations, such as changing the sex of a figure in the picture. Some subjects, in their need to be realistic, make their stories almost autobiographical. Others depart into extravagant fantasy and introduce devices such as magic, invisibility, and protective armor, following the pattern of the Superman comics. Others produce thoroughly autistic stories of success and glamor.

7. *Character of story.* Under this heading first of all should be noted whether the writing is merely descriptive or whether a plot is

introduced. The length of the story should be recorded, as well as its structure from the point of view of English composition. One should note the organization of the story, whether it is highly structured or loose, rambling, and fragmentary. The coherence of the story should be noted, particularly lack of coherence as indicated by loose associational thinking, contradictions, and absurdities. Peculiarities of style, such as the use of special expressions and idioms of speech, come under this heading. Under style one should also note whether there is paucity of expression or over-elaboration.

8. *Details of story.* The ending seems to have particular significance. One should record whether the ending is happy or unhappy and also whether there is a contrast in mood between the body of the story and the ending. Occasionally one finds stories having much adventure and many sordid details which end with abrupt suddenness, all difficulties having been easily resolved after the fashion of the old-fashioned serial movies. One should note preoccupation with details; obsessed subjects often dwell unnecessarily on minor details of the picture and the story. A detail such as the use of proper names to designate characters in the story may indicate a type of anxiety. Humor may again be an attempt to minimize anxiety and should be noted.

9. *Emotional tone.* The examiner should be sensitive to the general emotional tone of the stories, whether they are buoyant and optimistic or depressed and pessimistic.

10. *Language.* Balken and Masserman¹⁰⁸ have given attention to the language of the story and have found that different types of psychiatric patients show characteristic difficulties in the language used. Attention should be given to the vocabulary, to the relative frequency of certain parts of speech, to the accuracy of the language, to the use of characteristic expressions, to the introduction of proper names for the characters, and to the elegance or flatness of language in general.

11. *Intra-individual consistency.* This expression, used by Rapaport,¹⁰⁹ is intended to denote the consistency or inconsistency of any of these formal factors within the stories of an individual. It would be

¹⁰⁸ Balken and Masserman, "The Language of Phantasy; III. The Language of the Phantasies of Patients with Conversion Hysteria, Anxiety State, and Obsessive-Compulsive Neuroses," *Journal of Psychology*, X (1940), 75-86.

¹⁰⁹ Rapaport and others, *Diagnostic Psychological Testing*, Vol. II.

significant if an individual should in some way alter his mode of telling his stories.

FORMAL INTERPRETATION

Interpretation of the formal factors in TAT stories is still in its beginning stages, and there have been practically no universal canons therefor. Formal interpretation of the TAT is still on an impressionistic and "clinical" basis. Following are some illustrations of the types of formal interpretation which have been made. Talking fast so that the examiner has difficulty in recording the story may indicate hostility toward the examiner; this might also indicate anxiety on the part of the subject. Criticism of the picture may be a displacement of hostility which is directed elsewhere, or such hostility may be a defense against anxiety in the testing situation. One investigator has suggested that blocking may be a sign of guilt feelings over masturbation. Interpretations of this kind should be hazarded only when such generalizations have been verified by other evidence.

Inquiry

It has been a common practice in administering the Rorschach to follow the responses to the pictures by an inquiry period in which the examiner goes over the subject's responses to learn from him how and where he sees the various figures. Murray has suggested a similar procedure for the TAT. Rapaport¹¹⁰ suggests making a detailed inquiry after each picture in order to determine how the story was related to the picture. In particular, he would inquire concerning any lack of clarity in the story on three levels. First, he would ask a subject questions which would reveal the nature of perceptual unclarity which may have resulted from inadequate perception of the picture. Secondly, he would clear up any verbal unclarity that result from indistinct speech or the use of unfamiliar expressions. Thirdly, he would prepare his inquiry in such a way as to make clear the meaning of the story. In some cases it may become necessary to discuss with the subject his failure to comply with the instructions or his rejection of the picture, both to find out what these irregularities mean to the subject and also to help reduce resistance and to create a more favorable attitude toward the procedure.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 406

Murray suggests an association period following the story in which the subject is asked where the story came from and also to free associate to the elements in the story. It has been found that these associations may be revealing and may help in the interpretation of the story itself. Lasaga y Travieso and Martinez-Arango¹¹¹ suggest testing the limits as in the procedure in the Rorschach. This would mean suggesting certain possible alternate plots or outcomes for the story told by the subject to see if the subject can accept and tolerate certain points of view. These authors suggest that if ideas are rejected in testing the limits they either are not in tune with the personality or they represent purely intellectual associations. Others have suggested asking the subject how he likes a picture and which picture impressed him most, and also to find out the order in which pictures are recalled. It is believed that the order of recall of pictures has some special significance.¹¹² Rapaport¹¹³ reminds the examiner that it is important to make the inquiry nonsuggestive.

Murray¹¹⁴ finds from his experience that stories may be expected to come from one of four typical sources.

1. Books, moving pictures, radio, magazines, comic books.
2. Active events in which a friend or a member of the family participates.
3. Experiences in the subject's own life.
4. The subject's conscious and unconscious fantasy.

Murray¹¹⁵ believes that in general 30 percent of the sources are of an impersonal nature.

The validity of the TAT method has been challenged, because it is found that numerous stories derive their plots from stories recently read, radio programs recently heard, and movies recently seen. How-

¹¹¹ Lasaga y Travieso and Martinez-Arango, "Some Suggestions concerning the Administration and Interpretation of the T.A.T.," *Journal of Psychology*, XXII (1946), 117-163, at p. 117.

¹¹² Shakow and others, "A Psychological Study of a Schizophrenic," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XL (1945), 154-174, at p. 155.

¹¹³ Rapaport and others, *Diagnostic Psychological Testing*, II, 411.

¹¹⁴ Morgan and Murray, "A Method for Investigating Phantasies; the Thematic Apperception Test," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, XXXIV (1935), 289-306, at p. 291. Lasaga y Travieso and Martinez-Arango, "Some Suggestions concerning the Administration and Interpretation of the T.A.T.," *Journal of Psychology*, XXII (1946), 117-163, at p. 130.

¹¹⁵ Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*, p. 15.

ever, those who have had experience with the TAT agree that when the source of the story is the movie or the radio the theme corresponds at the same time to inner conflicts and unresolved tensions within the individual.¹¹⁶ If this were not true, the story would not have been remembered and the chances are that it would not have been recalled on a subsequent occasion. The fact that it is recalled indicates that the theme continues to reverberate in the individual in the form of unresolved conflicts and tensions. When the source is from incidents observed in the lives of others, it is remembered either because the person is of special importance to the subject or because the manner in which the incident happened has a special emotional significance or because it represents, symbolically, conflicts in his own life. When the source is from the subject's life but seems to be trivial and unimportant, the story reflects in disguised form deeper wishes or fears.

Diagnostic Indications

The TAT was not originally proposed as a diagnostic test, and it has not proved itself a particularly useful diagnostic instrument. Diagnosis is used in this connection to indicate the process of assigning a person to some diagnostic category, particularly in a psychiatric classificatory scheme. A few workers, however, believe that they have observed characteristics in the story, usually formal characteristics, which are unique for different diagnostic groups. These generalizations will be reviewed here briefly, although it is the belief of this reviewer that they have been obtained in too few cases and have not by any means yet been proven valid.

INTELLIGENCE

Differences between bright and dull subjects have been noted.¹¹⁷ Subjects with high intelligence tell stories with fantasy which is rich in novelty and creative invention. Subjects of low intelligence tell flat, sterile, stereotyped, and naïve stories.

¹¹⁶ Morgan and Murray, "A Method for Investigating Phantasies; the Thematic Apperception Test," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, XXXIV (1935), 289-306, at p. 291. Lasaga y Travieso and Martinez-Arango, "Some Suggestions concerning the Administration and Interpretation of the T.A.T.," *Journal of Psychology*, XXII (1946), 117-163, at p. 130.

¹¹⁷ Masserman and Balken, "The Clinical Application of Phantasy Studies," *Journal of Psychology*, VI (1938), 81-88, at p. 86. Balken and Vander Veer, "The Clinical Application of the Thematic Apperception Test to Neurotic Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XIV (1944), 421-440, at p. 439.

NEUROSES

In a paper on schizophrenia Balken¹¹⁸ has listed a number of indicators of neurotic tendencies found, it is implied, in hospitalized patients. These factors are given to differentiate the stories told by neurotic patients from those told by psychotic patients. Neurotic patients tend to be aware of the probing qualities of the test, and they tend to parry this probing. They are also aware of the self-revealing implications of the stories. They make either complimentary or adverse remarks about their imaginative ability. The fantasies in these stories are definitely self-revealing. Subjects evince some curiosity about the test. They use the pictures as an opportunity for talking about their hostilities, and they frequently give stories having wish-fulfillment themes of success.¹¹⁹

CONVERSION HYSTERIA

Balken and Masserman¹²⁰ find that conversion-hysteria patients tell stories of medium length, using many adjectives and few verbs. There is little vagueness or ambivalence or qualifications of statements in the stories told by these patients. They make little use of the first person or of identity with the narrator. Fantasies may have open or veiled sexual implications. There will be a tendency to involve persons in the immediate family, and there will be indications of hypochondriacal symptoms.

Anxiety states. Two groups of workers, Balken and Masserman¹²¹ and Rotter,¹²² have described the stories told by patients with anxiety states. These stories are highly dramatic in quality involving dramatic situations and dramatic action. The stories are tense, with comparatively clean-cut conflicts. Vagueness, hesitation, and trepidation are

¹¹⁸ Balken, "A Delineation of Schizophrenic Language and Thought in a Test of Imagination," *Journal of Psychology*, XVI (1943), 239-271, at p. 249.

¹¹⁹ Harrison, "The Thematic Apperception and the Rorschach Methods of Personality Investigation in Clinical Procedure," *Journal of Psychology*, XV (1943), 49-74, at p. 56.

¹²⁰ Balken and Masserman, "The Language of Phantasy. III: The Language of the Phantasies of Patients with Conversion Hysteria, Anxiety State, and Obsessive-Compulsive Neuroses," *Journal of Psychology*, X (1940), 75-86, at p. 76, 86.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, at p. 86.

¹²² Rotter, "Studies in the Use and Validity of the Thematic Apperception Test with Mentally Disordered Patients; I: Method of Analysis and Clinical Problems," *Character and Personality*, IX (1940), 18-34, at p. 24.

frequently used. These dramatic stories may have sudden episodes of danger and accident. Obviously, there is direct identification of the subject with characters in the story, and frequently the stories are autobiographical.

OBSESSIONAL-COMPULSIVE NEUROSES

In four papers there have been described characteristics of stories given by obsessional, compulsive patients: Harrison,¹²³ Masserman and Balken,¹²⁴ Rapaport,¹²⁵ and Rotter.¹²⁶ Stories told by this group show a pervading uncertainty and a querulous and indecisive nature. Ambivalence is an outstanding characteristic of these stories, both love and hate being indicated toward the same character. Phobias are commonly expressed. These stories are characteristically long, pre-occupied with details, and interspersed by circumstantial descriptions. They tend to be fragmentary, showing rigidity and doubt. Other individuals in this group may exhibit their compulsive tendencies by obvious intellectual ostentation and by a self-conscious presentation of their own thought processes. The compulsive person tends to criticize the picture and to use "special expressions."

SCHIZOPHRENIA

In five studies the stories told by schizophrenic patients have been described: Balken,¹²⁷ Harrison,¹²⁸ Masserman and Balken,¹²⁹ Rapaport,¹³⁰ and Rotter.¹³¹ Many of the characteristics attributed to schizo-

¹²³ Harrison, "The Thematic Apperception and the Rorschach Methods of Personality Investigation in Clinical Procedure," *Journal of Psychology*, XV (1943), 49-74, at p. 56.

¹²⁴ Masserman and Balken, "The Clinical Application of Phantasy Studies," *Journal of Psychology*, VI (1938), 81-88, at pp. 82, 86.

¹²⁵ Rapaport and others, *Diagnostic Psychological Testing*, 443.

¹²⁶ Rotter, "Studies in the Use and Validity of the Thematic Apperception Test with Mentally Disordered Patients; I: Method of Analysis and Clinical Problems," *Character and Personality*, IX (1940), 18-34, at p. 29.

¹²⁷ Balken, "A Delineation of Schizophrenic Language and Thought in a Test of Imagination," *Journal of Psychology*, XVI (1943), 239-271, at pp. 241, 243.

¹²⁸ Harrison, "The Thematic Apperception and the Rorschach Methods of Personality Investigation in Clinical Procedure," *Journal of Psychology*, XV (1943), 49-74, at p. 56.

¹²⁹ Masserman and Balken, "The Clinical Application of Phantasy Studies," *Journal of Psychology*, VI (1938), 81-88, at p. 87.

¹³⁰ Rapaport and others, *Diagnostic Psychological Testing*, II, 449.

¹³¹ Rotter, "Studies in the Use and Validity of the Thematic Apperception Test with Mentally Disordered Patients; I: Method of Analysis and Clinical Problems," *Character and Personality*, IX (1940), 18-34, at p. 29.

phrenic patients have also been attributed to patients in other categories, which indicates conclusively that the TAT cannot yet be used diagnostically with complete assurance. Among the characteristics of the stories told by schizophrenic patients are: improbability; bizarreness and absurdity; incoherence and illogicality; lack of originality; the use of neologisms or words with a peculiar meaning; strange modes of expression; circumstantiality, or minuteness of detail; the perseveration of words, phrases, and ideas; content of a socially unacceptable nature; over-elaborate symbolism; content depicting withdrawal; delusions; peculiar terms; vague generalities; irrelevant soliloquies; disruption of obvious relationships; the dictation of punctuation, paragraphing, and spelling; arbitrariness; disturbances in the subject's frame of reference; obvious shock and embarrassment; a lack of causal connection; a lack of qualifying, modifying and excepting conjunctions, such as "if," "however," "but," and "moreover"; juxtaposition of items apparently unrelated; diffuseness, scattering, and spread of meaning; fragmentation, as shown by incomplete sentences; the lack of adjectives and adverbs; the use of ellipses or short cuts in recognizable trains of thought; absence of similes and analogies and the use of inexact substitution, circumlocutions, and neologisms; poor sentence construction; equivalence of all evoked responses; blocking; silences; prevalence of temporal setting in the present or present perfect tense and lack of verbs with future or past habitual reference; lack of identification of the characters; absence of adjectives and nouns denoting imagery; inability to construct abstractions, impersonal, concrete, and literal characterizations.

PARANOIA

Three investigators have described the characteristics of stories told by paranoid patients: Masserman and Balken,¹³² Rapaport,¹³³ and Rotter.¹³⁴ Again, with this group there is overlapping with other groups, indicating the tentative nature of these diagnostic characterizations. The paranoid patient tells stories characterized by suspicious-

¹³² Masserman and Balken, "The Clinical Application of Phantasy Studies," *Journal of Psychology*, VI (1938), at p. 87.

¹³³ Rapaport and others, *Diagnostic Psychological Testing*, II, 445.

¹³⁴ Rotter, "Studies in the Use and Validity of the Thematic Apperception Test with Mentally Disordered Patients; I: Method of Analysis and Clinical Problems," *Character and Personality*, IX (1940), 18-34, at p. 31

ness, especially with regard to the motives of the examiner, the drawing of inferences in the story, moralizing, perceptive disturbances, consistent denial of aggression, evasiveness and guarded quality, and avoidance of autobiographical statements.

DEPRESSION

Three writers have described characteristics of stories told by depressed patients: Balken and Vander Veer,¹³⁵ Masserman and Balken,¹³⁶ and Rapaport.¹³⁷ They are found to have the following characteristics. They are told in a retarded and halting fashion, with exclamations and interjections of dismay. They are short and have unhappy endings. Many themes involve morality and sin, dissatisfaction, misfortunes, suicidal and nihilistic tendencies. Descriptions of the pictures are meticulously circumstantial. The stories have an aura of sadness, in which projected guilt and indications of psychotic delusions abound.

MANIA

One writer, Harrison,¹³⁸ has briefly described the characteristics of stories told by manic patients. This worker finds that these stories tend to be long and told hurriedly.

HYPNOTIZABILITY

A final diagnostic possibility of the TAT, which departs somewhat from the categories which have already been taken up, is the use of the stories to determine the degree of hypnotizability of an individual. Picture 12-M has been suggested as particularly significant for this purpose. It has been found¹³⁹ that the most hypnotizable subjects relate stories in which hypnosis was a success. Those who are not

¹³⁵ Balken and Vander Veer, "The Clinical Application of a Test of Imagination to Neurotic Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XII (1942), 68-80, at p. 78.

¹³⁶ Masserman and Balken, "The Clinical Application of Phantasy Studies," *Journal of Psychology*, VI (1938), 81-88, at p. 87.

¹³⁷ Rapaport and others, *Diagnostic Psychological Testing*, II, 440.

¹³⁸ Harrison, "The Thematic Apperception and the Rorschach Methods of Personality Investigation in Clinical Procedure," *Journal of Psychology*, XV (1943), 49-74, at p. 56.

¹³⁹ White, "Prediction of Hypnotic Susceptibility from a Knowledge of the Subject's Attitudes," *Journal of Psychology*, III (1937), 265-277, at p. 277.

easily hypnotizable relate stories in which hypnosis is discredited, termed repugnant, or explicitly declared to be a failure.

Reliability

Many psychologists, following the pattern established in evaluating psychometric tests, demand measures or estimates of the reliability and the validity of the TAT. Strictly speaking, the concept of reliability loses importance with a projective technique whose purpose is not so much to measure as it is to describe. The accuracy and the consistency which are expected from tests are not looked for in projective techniques. Because the pictures themselves vary in style and content and the stories also vary in style, content, and amount, split-half reliability loses its meaning. Split-half reliability assumes a certain amount of uniformity among the items of the test which are separated randomly into two split halves. When the instrument lacks uniformity in the elements of which it is composed the significance of split-half reliability is greatly diminished. It should not be expected that an individual will remain constant with respect to his fantasies over a period of time. As a matter of fact, evidence has already been reviewed in this chapter to indicate that the story productions are influenced by conditions which precede the test. Thirdly, there is no single authentic interpretation of the TAT. Two interpreters might devote their attention to different phases of the stories and ascribe different meanings to the various features of the stories, and yet both might be right. Probably there never can be such a thing as complete interpretation, inasmuch as the interpretation must of necessity be a function of the background and the psychological state of the interpreter. Many of those who have written about the TAT are quite willing to forego an attempt to determine its reliability.¹⁴⁰ One attempt to measure reliability, however, should be mentioned.¹⁴¹ Sanford, in his comprehensive study, determined the reliability with which twenty-one different needs were determined from twelve pictures in the Shady Hill School experiment. This reliability for twenty subjects was .48. In another determination, in which stories of forty-three

¹⁴⁰ Balken, "Thematic Apperception," *Journal of Psychology*, XX (1945), 189-197, at p. 197. Harrison, "The Thematic Apperception and the Rorschach Methods of Personality Investigation in Clinical Procedure," *Journal of Psychology*, XV (1943), 49-74, at p. 57. Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*, p. 18.

¹⁴¹ Sanford and others, *Physique, Personality, and Scholarship*, p. 263.

subjects to twenty-six pictures were studied, the average reliability for thirty-two needs was .46 and for sixteen press was .42. These figures are not high, but they are laconically commented upon by Sanford as "giving evidence of some consistency."

Validity

Validity is an issue of considerably greater significance with regard to the TAT. Indeed, until validity studies have been carried out the use and value of the TAT remains in grave doubt. It is evident that many investigators are interpreting themes from TAT stories directly as indicating trends within the individual telling them. This involves a gratuitous assumption, and until evidence has been produced, there is no more reason to suppose that the trends revealed by the stories actually do correspond with the character of the individual telling them than to suppose that they are quite the opposite. As a matter of fact, both these possibilities have been demonstrated to be true. It has been found that the themes derived from the stories may in some instances correspond with trends in the individual telling the stories, but in other cases the themes from the stories and the character of the individual telling them seem to be of a complementary and opposite natures.

Morgan and Murray,¹⁴² in the original paper presenting the TAT, were able to compare the results of the test with a lengthy psychoanalysis. They state that the TAT "adumbrated all the chief trends which five months of analysis were able to reveal." This would seem to be the supreme test of the TAT, and according to the authors of the test it came off with flying colors in its original trials.

Comparing the TAT with case-history material also provides a check on the validity of the test only somewhat less adequate than its comparison with a complete psychoanalysis. Sanford¹⁴³ has correlated the ratings of needs from the TAT with ratings of the needs as observed in the behavior of the same children. The average of these correlations is .11, although they range from above +.40 to below -.40. These variations from zero correlation could have, perhaps, occurred by chance, so that one conclusion from Sanford's study is

¹⁴² Morgan and Murray, "A Method for Investigating Phantasies," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, XXXIV (1935), 289-306, at p. 305.

¹⁴³ Sanford and others, *Physique, Personality, and Scholarship*, pp. 281 ff.

that there is no consistent relationship between the themes yielded by the stories and the same characteristics exhibited in behavior. Sanford goes on to argue, however, that although the average relationship is close to zero, it is possible that in individual cases there may be a close positive relationship between fantasy need and need expressed in behavior and in other cases significant negative relationship between fantasy need and need as shown in behavior. In analyzing his data further he finds trends in the correlations which he believes justify him in setting up certain hypotheses. First, he believes that there is evidence of the covariation of certain covert (repressed) needs in the stories which are frequently regarded as antisocial, and certain manifest tendencies which commonly serve the end of social control, such as avoidance of blame, masochistic tendencies, and anxiety; that is, the stronger the antisocial, repressed needs, the stronger the forces of control which must be present to effectively inhibit them. Secondly, he finds a tendency for a mutual relation between fantasies depicting a lowering of the self-regard and overt behavior of an assertive, self-forwarding kind. These two relationships indicate an opposition between fantasy and behavior. Then he goes on to give illustrations of relationships in which the fantasy and the need expressed in behavior are in the same direction. For instance, he finds that erotic needs will show themselves in fantasy and in behavior in the same individual. He finds again that whereas fantasy achievement correlated negatively with manifest achievement, fantasy achievement correlated positively with manifest tendencies toward gaining recognition and exhibitionistic tendencies. He generalizes by stating that a positive and socially desirable need which has been frustrated in its expression in real life may give rise to less organized striving and fewer defensive reactions. Finally, he finds other instances in which there is a substantial relationship between fantasy needs and needs expressed in behavior, as when the fantasy need for retention is paralleled by the manifest tendency toward acquisition in the same individual. In this case, by assuming that both the fantasy need and the manifest expression of it were both expressions of some more general central factor or disposition, Sanford goes on to make a significant point, namely, that a zero correlation need not indicate a lack of relationship. For instance, if there is a reason why the fantasy and the manifest expression should coexist in some individuals and a reason why one form of expression

should not be paralleled by the other in other individuals, the net result might be a lack of correlation from a statistical point of view; and yet dynamically the coexistence or lack of coexistence of these two factors might have significant meanings for individuals.

Another study by Harrison yields results of quite a different nature. Harrison, working in the Worcester State Hospital, compared the results of the TAT with hospital case histories. When the same examiner who took the history made the TAT analysis, the agreement in life history material was 82.5 percent.¹⁴⁴ When the analysis of the TAT was made by a different individual from the one who gathered the case histories, agreement was 74.6 percent.¹⁴⁵ Harrison specifies that this agreement concerns life history facts about the individuals being tested. These results are high beyond expectation, and no other investigator has reported anything which would correspond to them. While they are the reported results of a respected worker, the articles in which these data are reported do not provide sufficient details concerning the conditions of the experiment to enable the reader to understand them. They seem to be quite out of line with the experience of others who have used the TAT. This reviewer would prefer to interpret the validity of the TAT in terms of Sanford's results rather than in terms of Harrison's, but it is evident that considerably more work is needed with this kind of validation. The present study tends to corroborate Sanford's findings.

There are several other studies which have used the TAT for the purpose of measuring and estimating isolated qualities. Murray and Stein¹⁴⁶ attempted to use the TAT for estimating qualities of leadership and found a rank order relationship of .65 with ratings of leadership. Harrison and Rotter¹⁴⁷ found correlations of .73 and .77 between TAT estimates for emotional suitability and estimates by those who knew the subjects from first-hand observation.

Masserman and Balken¹⁴⁸ suggested the desirability of relating TAT

¹⁴⁴ Harrison, "Studies in the Use and Validity of the Thematic Apperception Test with Mentally Disordered Patients; II: Quantitative Validity Study," *Character and Personality*, IX (1940), 122-133, at pp. 123, 128.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, at p. 135.

¹⁴⁶ Murray and Stein, "Note in the Selection of Combat Officers," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, V (1943), 386-391.

¹⁴⁷ Harrison and Rotter, "A Note on the Reliability of the Thematic Apperception Test," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XL (1945), 97-99, at p. 99.

¹⁴⁸ Masserman and Balken, "The Psychoanalytic and Psychiatric Significance of Phantasy," *Psychoanalytic Review*, XXVI (1939), 343-379, 535-549, at p. 548.

results with physiological manifestations—presumably blood pressure, psychogalvanic reflex, and pulse and breathing—but they do not present data.

Combs¹⁴⁹ suggests as a measure of validity the comparison of the TAT with autobiographies, and in an investigation of his own he finds 48 percent agreement. The autobiography would seem to be somewhat less valuable as a criterion against which to check the TAT than direct observations of behavior. The autobiography represents the subject's own self-estimate and is subject to some of the same kinds of distortion and repression that would be found in the TAT, but not necessarily identical with them.

Combs¹⁵⁰ has also suggested checking the validity of the TAT by comparing the analyses of two judges. In the reviewer's judgment, this is more a matter of reliability than of validity. If one never gets outside the stories themselves, one does not have an independent check on the significance of what the stories are telling. However, Combs has carried through a careful check and investigation of the degree to which independent judges agree in their analyses of TAT material. Two independent judges, on the average, agree 60 percent, whereas one judge will agree with himself on some subsequent occasion with an average of 68 percent. When Combs had one judge estimate the accuracy of the analysis of another judge (his own), the agreement rose to 86 percent; and when one judge stated his agreement with the analysis of another in which the second judge had an opportunity to explain his analysis, the agreement rose to 91 percent. This would indicate that when two persons compare the analyses of TAT material and have an opportunity to discuss them there can be a high degree of correspondence. Sanford¹⁵¹ also compared the ratings of separate judges and found that between two judges the average correlation with regard to the ratings of need was .57 and of press .54. The ratings of one judge correlated with a composite of four judges (including the one independent judge) were .85 for needs and .80 for press. Renaud¹⁵² has also studied interobserver agreement and finds a correla-

¹⁴⁹ Combs, "The Validity and Reliability of Interpretations from Autobiographies and Thematic Apperception Test," *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, II (1946), 240-247, at p. 246.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 246-247.

¹⁵¹ Sanford and others, *Physique, Personality, and Scholarship*, p. 262.

¹⁵² Renaud, "Group Differences in Fantasies: Head Injuries, Psychoneurotics, and Brain Diseases," *Journal of Psychology*, XXI (1946), 327-346, at p. 335.

tion of the estimates of two TAT analysts of the need *aggression* as .88, for the press *lack* as .72, and for the press *affiliation* as .54.

Sarason¹⁵³ has carried through an interesting and significant study comparing the TAT results with the dreams of the same individual. He finds that many elements in the TAT also appear in the dreams of the individual tested and concludes from this that TAT stories partake of the nature of dream material. It is well known that stories told by an individual do not have the same bizarreness that we commonly ascribe to dreams, but Sarason's results make it plain that, like dreams, they represent inner tendencies of the individual relating them.

Harrison¹⁵⁴ suggests the desirability of relating the TAT to the Rorschach, but to date no investigator has carried through such a comparison.

Finally, Clark¹⁵⁵ has compared the TAT answered by selecting one story from three which are presented to him with the TAT in which the subject writes his own stories; he finds very close agreement on such items as the adequacy of the principal character, the nature of the ending, and the reaction of the hero to his environment, but a less close agreement in the analysis of needs. He does not suggest why the recognition and free response TAT should differ as to needs.

Related Methods

A beginning has been made in experimenting with the use of pictures for securing responses from subjects by varying from the orthodox TAT procedure. This review will not attempt to present in detail all possible variations. Two methods, however, are close enough to the TAT to warrant mentioning. Rosenzweig¹⁵⁶ has constructed what he calls the "picture association method" for the study of frustration. This test consists of a series of pictures each depicting an incident in which one person is the cause of frustration to another person. Rosenzweig introduces (in a balloon) a brief comment by the person who

¹⁵³ Sarason, "Dreams and Thematic Apperception Test Scores," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXIX (1944), 456-497, at p. 492.

¹⁵⁴ Harrison, "The Thematic Apperception and the Rorschach Methods of Personality Investigation in Clinical Procedure," *Journal of Psychology*, XV (1943), 49-74.

¹⁵⁵ Clark, "A Method of Administering and Evaluating the Thematic Apperception Test," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XXX (1944), 3-55.

¹⁵⁶ Rosenzweig, "The Picture-Association Method and Its Application in a Study of Reactions to Frustration," *Journal of Personality*, XIX (1945), 3-23.

is the cause of the frustration, and then an empty balloon is provided in which the subject may write the reply of the figure that has been frustrated. The subject is then to write out the response which he believes the frustrated person would make in the situation. Rosenzweig suggests that the pictures represent two types of frustration. The first is ego blocking, in which a person is frustrated by some outer interference in carrying through some wish or some action which has been initiated; the other, he calls superego blocking, which consists primarily of criticism by the frustrating person. Rosenzweig suggests two types of scoring. The first is a classification of the direction that the aggression takes in response to the frustration. Rosenzweig recognizes three possible directions for aggression. In the first, which he calls *extrapunitive*ness, a person directs his aggression outward and presumably toward the person who is the cause of the frustration. In the second type, which he calls *intropunitive*ness, the subject turns the aggression on himself by self-depreciation or self-blame. In the third (*impunitive*ness) the aggression is sidetracked by describing the frustrating situation as insignificant, as no one's fault, or as likely to be ameliorated by just waiting or conforming. Rosenzweig also suggests scoring his picture association test according to the types of reaction of which he recognizes three. The first he calls *obstacle-domination*, in which the barrier is emphasized by the subject as something to be overcome, or considered a boon instead of an obstacle, or belittled. The second he calls *ego-defense*, in which the subject is emphasized in the response by blaming someone, accepting the blame himself, or asserting that no one is to blame. The third is *need-persistence*, in which the solution of the problem and the conditions that hinder it or which might facilitate it are emphasized. This test should prove valuable for the study of certain central aspects of a person's dynamic tendencies and, in particular, his reaction to frustration.

Another interesting use of pictures as a projective technique is the stress-tolerance test of Harrower and Grinker.¹⁵⁷ This test, which was designed for use in Army Air Force hospitals, consists of pictures depicting traumatic scenes which might be experienced by a pilot in military action, such as a plane crashing on the water. These pictures

¹⁵⁷ Harrower and Grinker, "The Stress Tolerance Test," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, VIII (1946), 3-15.

were given to patients suffering from operational fatigue, and observations were made of their reactions to them. It was found that the reactions of those who were suffering from war shock were characteristically different from those of men who had not been through terrifying experiences. While this test in its original form is limited in application, the method is one which could have wide use in civilian life in determining the tolerance with which individuals react to situations which have threatening implications.

III. THE PICTURES AND THE DATA OF THE STUDY

*T*O ANSWER the questions proposed in Chapter I the following study was outlined.

1. Prepare a set of pictures designed specially for the elicitation of adolescent fantasy.
2. Secure stories from a number of normal adolescent boys and girls which are stimulated by these pictures by the picture-story method to be described. Actually twenty boys and twenty girls were used in the study.
3. Gather as complete case data on each of these forty adolescent subjects as is possible in a public-school setting and in the time and with the resources available.
4. Analyze the stories according to the "themes" which they contain.
5. Compare the stories and the themes which they contain with the case data available for each subject. This comparison is the heart of the study and conclusions drawn from the comparison should have an important bearing on the validity of the picture-story method.

An earlier investigation by the author¹ showed that the two most important criteria in the selection of pictures to be used in the picture-story method are that (1) there shall be a minimum of detail and (2) that they shall contain characters with whom the subject can identify himself. Since the investigation was to be carried out on adolescent subjects, it seemed necessary to prepare a set of pictures which met these criteria. In particular, a set of pictures was needed each of which contained an adolescent character in some situation.² Through the

¹ Symonds, "Criteria for the Selection of Pictures for the Investigation of Adolescent Fantasies," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXIV (1939), 271-274.

² One discovery of the study is that the requirement "character with whom the subject can identify himself" was taken too narrowly in planning the pictures. To be sure, it is most natural for an adolescent to identify himself with an adolescent.

aid of the Council for Research in the Social Sciences of Columbia University, it was possible to secure the services of a highly competent and talented artist, Lynd Ward, to prepare such a series of pictures.

Mr. Ward was given a list of specifications for 42 pictures. A sample of these specifications ran as follows:

- 15 — Boy with suitcase obviously either having run away or been deserted, or, perhaps, looking for a job—alone in a large city.
- 16 — Boy leaves vestibule of house determinedly.
- 17 — Two boys, one well dressed, the other having had unfortunate experiences, sit together on steps with worried, disconsolate look.
- 18 — Boy knocking at a door.
- 19 — Boy arriving home at night, with shadow of waiting parent.
- 20 — Older man paying out money in bills to young man.

It is not possible to say how these specifications were derived. From his previous experience with the method the experimenter imagined situations into which adolescents could project themselves, which would suggest action and indicate a situation suggesting an episode, but which were not too detailed. Mr. Ward produced a set of forty-two pictures, using black and white crayon. These pictures measured 8" by 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " and were drawn directly on 10" by 13" heavy cardboard. These pictures have been photographed and reduced to prints 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ " by 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ " mounted on cardboard 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ " by 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Cards 1 to 14 contain pictures of both male and female adolescents, or in three cases adult figures, and in one case the picture contains no figure at all. Cards 15 to 27 contain pictures of male adolescents, and 28 to 42 of female adolescents. It was not intended that the pictures of boys would be used only for boys or of girls only for girls, but it was hoped to discover the nature of the identification when the figures in the pictures were of the same sex as the subject telling the stories and when they were of the opposite sex.

Mr. Ward is well known for his woodcuts and has actually written some novels in woodcuts, that is, stories told by means of pictures. Those who have examined the pictures in this series notice a similarity in expression on the faces, which is to be expected, since they are all the product of the same artist. They are on the whole gloomy, severe,

But some adolescents find this difficult and must identify themselves with an older or a younger person. And most adolescents find it possible to identify themselves with babies, with old men or women, with members of the opposite sex, with animals, and even with inanimate objects.

morose, mournful, and tragic rather than gay and light-hearted. To what extent this feature influences the stories is not known. It may introduce a mood and tone into the stories that a different set of pictures might not impart. There is evidence that two of the pictures (24 and 40 in the original series) which are in a more light-hearted vein produce fewer stories with aggressive and depressed themes. It is possible that the record of adolescent fantasy which this study yields is influenced to some extent by the fantasy life of the artist who drew the pictures, but it is not believed that this is a very important factor, even though it may be a constant factor.

The Data

The data for the study were collected during the year 1940-1941 in the public schools of Suburban City. Stories were secured on the forty-two pictures from forty individuals—twenty boys and twenty girls. Twenty-three of the pupils were in the Junior High School, eight in the High School for Girls, and nine in the High School for Boys.

In planning the study in the three schools it was emphasized that it was our wish to study normal or typical and unselected boys and girls. That is, we did not wish to select predominantly bright pupils, or predominantly dull pupils, nor were they to be selected because the school considered them problem children and wished the assistance which our test battery might yield for understanding them. It was decided to select the boys and girls on a volunteer basis. This would, of course, introduce a selective factor, but at the same time it was a desirable one, inasmuch as the co-operation of the subjects was important.

The method by which the subjects were selected in the junior high school can best be described by quoting from a letter from the Guidance Director.

Volunteers were asked for in classes of varying achievement and interests. The eighth grades were contacted on two levels—those who were accelerated and those of average ability. In the ninth grade we asked for volunteers from the college preparatory, commercial, and general arts groups. The commercial students are generally not as advanced as the college group. The general arts pupils are the slow-moving, over-age, retarded, maladjusted, and less than average ones.

The girls were selected in the same way. There were only twelve in the general arts section. We tried to give you a cross-section of the school.

One boy in the junior high school, the last to be selected, was chosen because he was a problem and the school wished help from our study in understanding him. The fact that he was maladjusted was evidenced in that he was at the bottom of the list in the ratings of adjustment.

When the ratings of adjustment are studied, it will be noted that a larger proportion of the poorly adjusted were found in the junior high school than might be expected by chance. Is it possible that younger adolescents show greater signs of conflict and restlessness than do older adolescents? This study would incline toward that belief.

In the High School for Girls girls were selected by asking for volunteers from the four classes in the commercial department. Since students from lower intellectual levels tend to gravitate into the commercial department in high schools, it is probable that these older girls tend to be placed slightly lower on the scale of intelligence than an unselected group from the school would be.

The High School for Boys was busy and crowded, and the over-worked counselor was slow to select cases for use in this study. Wexler solved this problem ingeniously by approaching boys in study halls, explaining the nature of the study, and asking them if they would care to participate. It is believed that this resulted in a very representative and unselected group of older boys for the study. By and large it can be truthfully said that these are forty normal boys and girls taken at random from the secondary schools of an American city.

These twenty boys and twenty girls may be distributed by age and grade as follows:

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF CASES
BY AGE

<i>Age</i>	<i>Number</i>
18	1
17	4
16	8
15	7
14	12
13	7
12	1
<hr/>	
	40

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF CASES
BY SCHOOL GRADE

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Number</i>
12	6
11	4
10	7
9	15
8	7
7	1
<hr/>	
	40

All these data were collected in the academic year 1940-1941.* Most of the data in the junior high school were gathered from October, 1940, to January, 1941, while the high school data were gathered from November, 1940, through May, 1941.

It was the purpose of the study to secure not only the forty-two stories from each of the forty subjects but also all the readily accessible facts about each of the boys and girls. These facts were secured from the boys and girls themselves through interviews and questionnaires, from their teachers, from the principals and guidance officers in the schools, from the school records, and from the parents. In each school it was possible to secure the stories in separate counseling rooms, where the examiners and children would not be disturbed. Pupils were taken from their classes for their testing, and the schools co-operated admirably to make this possible. In a sampling of 10 boys it was found that on the average it was possible to secure 8.2 stories per school period of 40 minutes. However, there were wide individual differences in this respect, one case giving on an average only 4.0 stories per period, another 10.5 stories. This means that on the average it took 5.5 periods to finish the 42 stories, but in 3 of the 10 sampled the stories were completed in 4 periods, and one took parts of 12 periods.

The following data were collected.

STORIES FROM THE PICTURES

Pupils met the examiner on the first day for a get-acquainted period. A considerable part of this first period was consumed in general conversation, the examiner asking general questions and each talking informally. The purpose of the study was explained, and perhaps stories for one or two of the pictures were secured. In the second session little time was lost in getting down to the task of getting the children to tell stories in response to the pictures, and this was made the main task at the beginning of the contacts with each of the cases.

Pupils told their stories orally; the examiner acted as stenographer and took the stories down on yellow pads in longhand. Occasionally it would be necessary to ask a pupil to halt his story-telling until the

* Through the grant of the Council for Research in the Social Sciences of Columbia University, it was possible to secure the help of two competent assistants in securing the data, Milton Wexler and Sylvia Silverman.

writers caught up, but ordinarily there were no interruptions—pupils co-operated excellently in the task.

Each pupil was handed the cards one by one in serial order. Usually he would hold each card until he had finished the story for it, but one boy would hardly look at a card, put it down immediately, and launch into a fanciful story that might be only remotely connected with the picture that stimulated it. Wexler kept a record of reaction times between presentation of the card and the beginning of the story.⁴

In introducing the pictures, the following directions were read to the pupil.

Directions for Administering Picture-Story Test

This is a test of creative imagination. I want to find how much imagination you have. Here are some pictures which I am going to show you one by one and I want you to make up a story on each picture.

These pictures are like the ones used in magazines to illustrate stories. I want you to imagine yourself a story-writer and you are to tell a story in which the picture could be used as an illustration. When I show you the picture it will present a scene with people in it. Try to imagine what happened before this scene and what led up to it. What are the characters in the picture thinking and how do they feel? How is it going to turn out? Please don't feel that you must make your story commonplace and conventional. It can be as absurd, as wild, or as silly as you wish. I am the only one in the school who is going to see your stories so you can say whatever comes into your mind without any fear. I want you to tell me a story based on this picture. I am interested in hearing what kind of story you can tell.

I am going to be your stenographer and take it down as you tell it. (Show picture.) Go ahead.

At the end of the story it is permissible to add: What did he do? How does he feel? How did it turn out?

Before the second picture say: That was pretty good but I am sure that you can do better. Perhaps you are afraid to say just what you are thinking about. It is all right to tell me anything you think of. Remember, tell what happened before the scene on the picture and what led up to the scene,

⁴Dr. Silverman chose to postpone card 14 until near the end of the series, lest the nakedness of the figures should interfere with the story production.

what the characters are thinking and how they feel, and how it will turn out. Let yourself go and tell as dramatic and fantastic or silly a story as you wish. Remember I am the only one who will see your story in school, so tell whatever kind of story occurs to you.

ASSOCIATIONS TO THE STORIES

The second step was to secure associations to the stories. The following directions indicate the procedure.

Directions for the Association Period in the Picture-Story Test

Now I am going to read to you the story which you gave to the first picture. When I have finished, I want to ask you some questions about it. [The examiner reads the story.] People get their stories for these pictures from a variety of different sources. Some come out of one's own experience. Some come from things that they have read. Some from movies that they have seen. Some from experiences of brothers or sisters, friends, or other persons that one has known. Sometimes it is difficult to say where the story came from. It seems simply to have come. Can you tell me where you got the idea for this story?

I should like to find out what some of the items in the story mean to you. When I ask you, will you tell me how you happened to introduce this item into the story, or what it makes you think of? It is not necessary to be too accurate. Just let your imagination work and say anything that comes to mind. (Illustrations: How did you happen to think that it might have been a bill for gas? Where did you get the idea of taking the sheets off the bed and tying them into knots? Where did you get the idea of the boy being sent upstairs to bed for being naughty? What does a corn remover make you think of? Where did you get the idea of his ripping his trousers? What does a poorhouse make you think of?)

The associations seemed disappointing when they were being obtained. Most pupils would go from story to story and merely say that they were suggested by movies, radio skits, or stories they had read. It was only occasionally that a child would refer elements in the story to his own experience. However, when the data were analyzed and studied, it was discovered that these associations were most valuable, inasmuch as they helped to reveal the personal meaning of the fantasy material. Some of the children became ill at ease during this association process—perhaps it stirred up too many intensely personal and

unpleasant thoughts, impulses, and promptings, but anyone using this method is advised not to slight this part of the procedure.

GENERAL INTERVIEW WITH PUPIL

As has been stated, at the opening of the first session with each case there was a general interview with the child, partly to enable the examiner to form his initial impressions, partly to secure the child's attitude toward himself, and partly to assist in establishing rapport. The following questions were to be suggestive only, and the examiners were specifically instructed not to follow them literally. In case the topics suggested were not covered in this first interview, it was completed several sessions later, after all the stories had been secured. The following general instructions to the examiners will indicate the general procedure suggested and the nature of this initial interview.

General Plan for Collecting Data

I. General Impression. Record first impression—size, bearing, approach to situation, clothing, activity and energy, etc. Keep notes of all reactions observed during contacts, specially those on entering and leaving. It is especially important to note reactions before and after the relations are "official," that is, while taking a test or answering questions.

II. During first part of first hour it is well to take some time to explain to the pupil the nature of the study (10 minutes). Tell him that he has been selected to participate in a study in which he will take a number of tests, the purpose of which is to help teachers and others to understand better boys and girls who are growing up. Tell him that he should find the tests and questions interesting. Ask him if he would be willing to give several periods to these tests. Tell him that only those who co-operate willingly can be used in the test. Spend the rest of the hour getting acquainted.

Say, "We will begin right away, then. First of all I want to get acquainted with you and I want you to tell me about yourself. You can tell it to me and I will write it down as you talk. This is going to be a get-acquainted period."

Outline for Initial Conference

A. Interests and ambitions

1. What subjects are you taking in school this year?
2. What subjects do you like? Dislike?
3. If you could take any subjects you wished, what would they be?
4. Did you select your own subjects, or did someone help you? Who?

5. If you could change your school in any way this year, what would you propose?
 6. What do you plan to do after you finish high school?
 7. What vocation have you decided upon?
 8. Who has influenced you in your choice of a vocation?
 9. What kinds of things do you like to do best after school? In the evening? On Saturday? On Sunday?
 10. Do you like to read? What have you read lately that you found interesting?
 11. Do you like to tinker with mechanical things or to build things?
 12. Do you like to write or draw or play some musical instrument?
 13. What are some of your hobbies?
 14. Have you ever made a collection of anything?
- B. Social experiences and attitudes
15. What clubs do you belong to?
 16. Do you take part in any activities in school outside of class?
 17. Do you have lots of friends?
 18. Are your friends older or younger than you?
 19. Are you ever elected to be captain or president?
 20. Are you popular?
 21. How do you get along with boys (girls)?
 22. Do you like animals, and do you have any pets?
 23. Tell me about your brothers and sisters. Have you any? How many do you have? How old are they? What do they do? What do you think of them?
 24. Tell me about the last movie you saw?
 25. What responsibilities do you have at home?
 26. Tell me the thing about yourself you are most proud to have me know.
 27. What is your worst fault?
 28. Is there anything that you worry about?

INTERVIEW WITH PARENT

An interview was arranged with a parent, usually the mother, of each child in the study. We would have preferred to see the mother at school, inasmuch as the conditions were certain to afford uninterrupted privacy. This could not always be arranged, and a number of the conferences with the parents were held in the home. From the parent it was hoped to secure a *social and developmental history*, and a schedule of topics was drawn up to serve as a guide in securing these

facts from the mother. The school authorities did not anticipate these interviews with the parents with too great relish, fearing possibly some unfortunate incident. However, these parent interviews were most successful. Parents seemed to welcome an opportunity to talk to the investigator about their children. There is no doubt but that in general they put the best possible light on their children, but even so, by all that was said, important attitudes and characteristics of the child were revealed. Except for the general tendency to whitewash, the social histories would have been the most revealing and important part of our data.

The method of procedure can best be described by copying from a letter which the author sent to his two investigators after he had had some preliminary experience in securing social histories from a few parents.

Date ——

Dear ——

In general, I find that the best approach is to frankly state to the parents the purpose of our study which is to explore the possibilities of a new test for studying children in high school. At the beginning, I ask them to volunteer to tell us what kind of a boy or girl their child is. In most cases the parents are not very fluent at first. This is particularly true with parents from the lower economic levels and with foreign backgrounds. They tend to be a little suspicious or to be a little self-conscious. After ten or fifteen minutes I turn to the questions and tell them frankly that there are some things that we want to know about how their child has grown up and that we should like to ask them questions which they may feel free to answer or not as they wish. I find that the questions act as a lubricant and that soon they are volunteering all sorts of information as well as the answers to the questions. At the end, I usually give them another five or ten minutes for volunteering anything else that happens to come to mind.

Outline for Social Case History

1. Identifying information

Name	Address	Date	Sex
Age	School and grade		

2. Developmental history

a. Infancy

1) Birth

a) Weight

- 2) Nursing
- 3) Weaning
- 4) What kind of baby
- b. Early development
 - 1) Teething
 - 2) Walking
 - 3) Talking
 - 4) Toilet training
 - a) Enuresis
 - 5) Eating
 - a) Food fads
 - 6) Sleeping
 - a) Sleeping arrangements
 - b) Night terrors or dreams
- c. Medical history
 - 1) Illnesses
 - 2) Accidents
 - 3) Operations
- d. School history
 - 1) Schools attended
 - 2) Grades skipped or repeated
 - 3) Interests in school
- e. Personality
 - 1) Interests—what does he like to do
 - 2) Leisure time
 - 3) Friends and relationships with other children
 - 4) Hobbies, pets, etc.
 - 5) Relation to authority
 - 6) Reaction to duties, responsibility
 - 7) Summer experiences
- f. Sex development and adjustment
 - 1) Interests and curiosity
 - 2) Sex information
 - 3) Masturbation
 - 4) Menstruation
 - 5) Attitudes toward opposite sex
 - a) Is child overcurious, overmodest, dominating, passive
 - b) What are attitudes toward petting members of opposite sex
 - c) Crushes
 - d) Daydreaming excessive
 - e) Dating

- g. Nervous mannerisms
 - 1) Stuttering, tics, etc.
- h. Work experiences
- i. Health and subject's attitude toward it

3. Personality

- a. Cheerful, unhappy
- b. Tense, calm
- c. Excitable, nervous, temper, anger
- d. Healthy, sickly
- e. Energetic, phlegmatic
- f. Active, passive
- g. Leader, follower
- h. Effective, unsuccessful
- i. Sociable, withdrawing
- j. Doer, planner, dreamer
- k. Decisive, doubting
- l. Dominating, yielding
- m. Critical of self, others
- n. Dependent, independent
- o. Affectionate, demonstrative, spoiled, indulged

4. Siblings

- a. Relation to subject

5. Family history

- a. Mother
 - 1) Health
 - 2) Activities
- b. Father
 - 1) Health
 - 2) Work
- c. Mother's family
 - 1) Father
 - 2) Mother
 - 3) Brothers and sisters
- d. Father's family
 - 1) Father
 - 2) Mother
 - 3) Brothers and sisters

6. General background

a. Neighborhood

b. Home

1) Number of rooms

INTERVIEW WITH TEACHER

It was believed that important things could be learned about each case from the teachers in the schools. Accordingly, interviews were arranged with the principal, the assistant principal, the guidance counselor, and with all the teachers who had any contact with any of the pupils in the study. Most of the teachers co-operated well. The principal, assistant principal, and counselor of the junior high school were very co-operative and supplied valuable information about pupils from their respective viewpoints. The high school principals could help us very little, for their acquaintance with the pupils in our study was slight. In the junior high school the teachers were co-operative, but unfortunately they seemed to know little about these pupils outside the classroom. They characterized the children in terms of ability and personality and told us how well they did their work and whether or not they caused disciplinary difficulty. It was seldom that their acquaintance with a child extended beyond the classroom.

In the high school it was not possible to arrange extended interviews with all the teachers. Accordingly, a form (given below) was made out, and teachers were asked to write down their impressions of each pupils, with the assurance that what they said would be kept confidential. The responses were gratifying—all that could be asked for—but even at best they were disappointing, since they showed only a superficial acquaintance with the pupil.

To Mr. ———

As part of the intensive study of nine boys which was conducted at the High School for Boys last year, we planned to secure statements concerning them from everyone who knew these boys in any way. We failed to secure these statements for three of the boys. I am asking you to write a statement below concerning

Please make a statement concerning anything that you may know about this boy, including:

What kind of work did he do in your class?

Cite any of his personal characteristics which you recall.

Give any incidents in which he figured.

What do you know about his family?

If you have talked with him, can you say anything about his attitudes and outlook?

Please send this sheet back to Miss —— who will return it to me.

(Signed) ——

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Each pupil was asked to write an autobiography. In general these were well done, in fact, in many instances they ran to many pages and recorded events, impressions, attitudes, and self-evaluations with considerable detail. These autobiographies were among the most helpful parts of the study. Some of the pupils required considerable urging—it was the kind of thing easy to postpone, particularly since it was not a regular school assignment. In one case the written autobiography was less than a page, but this same boy readily dictated an autobiography that ran to several pages. The disturbed junior high school boy could not be brought to write an autobiography, but was finally persuaded to dictate one. One senior high school girl never produced an autobiography and left school before she could be persuaded to write one.

As a guide and a stimulus a set of suggestions for the autobiography was prepared and used. Suggestions for the autobiography are reproduced below.

Suggestions for Autobiography

An autobiography is a story of one's life. In writing an autobiography one might begin by stating that he was born August 12, 1926, in Lawrenceville, Delaware, that he moved to Greenwich, Conn., when he was five years old, etc., but a mere recital of dates, places, and events is not likely to prove very interesting.

Tell your own story as though you were an outside observer or reporter for the *American Magazine*, describing how you grew up. The topics below are given as suggestions. You do *not* have to write something on each topic. Read all the topics and then write the story of your life as you would like to.

Home background

In what places have you lived?

Write about your brothers and sisters.

Write about your father and mother.

Write about other members of your family.

Write about your pets.

Advantages and disadvantages in your home.

Tell some incidents that will show something about life in your family
—the incidents may be about pleasures, holidays, accidents, heartaches,
punishments, secrets, family life, family sorrow and happiness.

Childhood experience

First experience you can remember.

Illnesses or injuries that have influenced your life.

Trips or travels you have taken.

Are there things that your parents, playmates, or teachers have wanted
from you and what did you do about it?

Failures.

What are you most afraid of?

What have you wondered about?

School experiences

Schools attended.

Subjects and teachers you have especially liked.

Subjects and teachers you have especially disliked.

What do you like best about school outside of your studies?

What do you like least about school outside of your studies?

Personal interests and hobbies

What interesting things have you made or done?

Do you belong to teams or clubs?

What persons do you admire most and why?

About myself

What are your ambitions?

What are your parents' ambitions and plans for you?

What great ideals do you have?

What interesting things have you thought of doing?

What have been the low spots in your life when you were most dis-
couraged and sad?

What have been the high spots in your life when you have been most
successful and happy?

What defects or shortcomings have you recognized in yourself?

Tell about your friends.

What are some of the things you worry about?

Tell of some of your characteristics—optimistic, pessimistic, easily dis-
couraged, persistent, prefer working and playing by self, prefer to
work and play with others, timid, easily embarrassed, bashful, etc.

SHEVIAKOV-FRIEDBERG QUESTIONNAIRES

Each pupil filled out the Sheviakov-Friedberg Questionnaire on Interests and Attitudes.⁵ This questionnaire comes in two folders, each with two hundred items to be marked L, I, or D (like, indifferent toward, or dislike), to indicate the interest and attitude toward a variety of objects and situations. These questionnaires are scored for the following categories: self-acceptance (hedonistic), self-acceptance (impulses), severity with oneself, relation with family, relation with same sex, relation with opposite sex, solitary, out-of-door activities, school activities, leadership, authority, aggression, humor (general), humor (oral), fantasy, mystery, magic, preoccupation with cleanliness (personal), preoccupation with cleanliness (projected), insecurity, life—death—universe, methodical (repetitive), identification with others, nonidentification with others, dramatics, reaction to questionnaire.

PUPIL RATING BY TEACHERS

Every teacher in each of the schools who had any contact with any pupil in the study was asked to rate the pupils on a simple rating blank, reproduced below. Every pupil had three or more such ratings, as well as the ratings of the two investigators.

Behavior Rating Scale

Pupil's Name ----- To be rated by -----

Below is a list of behaviors which may be observed in pupils in school. The extremes of each characteristic are given to the left and the right.

In rating, place an X in the box on each line that represents your judgment for the pupil whose name is given above.

The 0 columns represent average. Plan to put your cross in this 0 column unless you have reason to believe that the child tends to deviate in one direction or the other. Give a rating of +1 or -1 when a pupil shows a tendency in one direction or the other. Give a rating of +2 or -2 rarely. The average child *should* receive +2 and -2 not *more* than (and not *less* than) two or three times. A good plan would be to go down the list and search for this pupil's extreme characteristics to give +2 and -2 before filling in the rest of the items.

⁵ By George V. Sheviakov and Jean Friedberg. "Interests and Attitudes" (8.2b and 8.2c), *Progressive Education Association Evaluation in the Eight Year Study*, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1939.

SCALE

-2 -1 0 +1 +2

Unhappy, depressed						Happy, cheerful
Unco-operative						Co-operative
Unsocial, withdrawing						Sociable, friendly
Suspicious, distrustful						Trustful, has faith in others
Cruel, bullying						Sympathetic, kind
Easily discouraged						Persevering
Suggestible, easily led						Makes own decisions, knows own mind
Ridicules, overcritical						Praises, doesn't ridicule
Sensitive, easily hurt						Not easily disturbed or hurt
Selfish, unsportsmanlike						Generous, a good sport
Excitable						Emotionally stable, controlled, stolid
Daydreams, fancies						Realistic, wide-awake
Nervous, restless						Calm, not nervous
Unreliable, irresponsible						Reliable, responsible
Quarrelsome, disagreeable						Agreeable, pleasant
Inattentive						Attentive
Interrupts, talkative						Waits turn, not loquacious
Fearful, apprehensive						Not easily frightened, courageous
Impertinent, defiant						Respectful, poised, tactful
Shows disliking for school						Shows liking for school

SCHOOL RECORDS

All school records pertaining to the pupils included in this study were made available, and they were copied by the two investigators for inclusion in the folders of material for each of the forty individuals. In the junior high school these included the records of marks in school subjects and a "pupil interview form" which was on file in the office of the guidance counselor. In the senior high school the "Permanent Scholarship Record" and a "Personal Record" were included.

RANKINGS FOR ADJUSTMENT

Finally the two investigators Wexler and Silverman ranked the pupils with whom they worked for general adjustment. Mrs. Chamou-

laud, who worked with the data a year later and became very well acquainted with them, ranked all forty cases for adjustment, once based on the "life" material, that is, what was learned from interviews with parents and teachers and from the autobiographies, and again based on the "fantasy" material.

The senior investigator also ranked all forty cases for adjustment on the basis of the total written evidence available for each case. These three sets of rankings were pooled into a composite ranking which will be described later.

IV. THEME ANALYSIS

ONE OF THE OBJECTIVES of this study was an analysis of the 1,680 stories into their principal themes, which could be used as an improved and authoritative classification of the themes gained from fantasy material. Heretofore the only method of analyzing and interpreting thematic apperception material has been that proposed by Murray and Sanford. Murray¹ and Sanford² have drawn up lists of needs and other personality characteristics, and these have served as master lists against which to tabulate the frequency of occurrence of themes which were to be found in story material. Murray's list of needs has been theoretical, *ex cathedra*, an outcome of Murray's keen and penetrating analysis of personality. It was believed that the analysis of an actual set of stories into the themes which they contain would serve as the basis for a more realistic set of themes. Consequently, when the stories were in hand, the next task was to undertake an inventory of the themes which they contained, casting aside any preconceived notions as to what these themes might or should be.

This theme analysis was a long and difficult task, and even up to the end no systematic plan was worked out for it. In general one read through the stories of a given subject watching for elements that were repeated. The writer's method was to read story one, then watch in story two for any element or detail which was repeated and note it on a sheet, together with the numbers of the two stories in which it was found. In reading subsequent stories close watch was kept for any recurring themes. This placed a considerable tax on memory and required a high degree of attention. When all forty-two stories were read in this way, they were reread in the reverse order, beginning with the last story, and many new recurring themes were recognized with this fresh approach. A third rereading caught up repetitions in themes which had not been previously noted.

¹ Murray, *Explorations in Personality*.

² R. N. Sanford, "Procedure for Scoring the Thematic Apperception Test," Harvard Psychological Clinic, 1937.

It was discovered that putting the material aside and coming back to it another day also helped to make it possible to recognize new themes.

Mrs. Chamoulaud tried out a more systematic method of briefing each story into its thematic elements so as to facilitate comparison. This worked well enough for the simplest elements, but was inadequate for the more subtle themes, which would not be briefed.³

No "system" seemed to be wholly satisfactory. Nothing took the place of giving the task one's individual attention, keeping as many details as possible in memory, and maintaining a flexible attitude.

The few cases which were analyzed, both by Mrs. Chamoulaud and the writer, did not show complete agreement, but the agreement was substantial. No accurate measure of the differences was attempted. In such a preliminary analysis the aim was not measurement, but the maximum discovery and isolation of themes which were possible, and the results showed that neither worker could be counted on to perceive every factor, item, and theme. The disagreement was sometimes because of terminology, sometimes because of emphasis, sometimes a matter of inclusiveness, and sometimes a matter of our interests, sagacity of observation, and inner dynamics. For one thing, it seems impossible not to ride "hobbies." One of us would be more sensitive to certain aspects of the stories or to certain psychological implications in the stories than the other. The capacity to recognize themes must necessarily vary with training and background and also the psychology of the individual analyst.

There were many kinds of theme. We counted as a theme the occurrence in a study of such specific items as police, money, job, etc., regardless of the meaning that police or money might have had. Naturally, isolated items such as these were less important and significant than were items such as "leaving home," "repentance," "boy meets girl." Themes varied from the very specific to the very general.

It was our purpose to find every item or feature which stories had in common, extending from themes of psychological import, such as "one person going to the defense of another," "unpopular," "discouraged,"

³ During the year 1942-1943 Mrs. Muriel Chamoulaud assisted in the study. The writer worked through these analyses on 18 of the stories (1-3, 6-19, 29) while Mrs. Chamoulaud analyzed 22 (4, 5, 20-28, 30-40). A few of the stories were analyzed by both in order to compare methods and results. Mrs. Chamoulaud also carried through a comparison of the fantasy material with the life material.

to more general trends, such as the tendency to exaggerate, to use large numbers, to minimize, to use slang or clichés, or to use such expressions as "it seems to me," or "I wonder if," "and that is all to that," the use of proper names, and the like. The nature of the ending, whether happy or tragic, or a sudden reversal, was also noted. One reason for the impossibility of reducing this analysis to a system was that the thread running through a set of stories was often elusive, and it was not until most of them had been read that it was possible to define and name the elusive elements which were unique to that individual.

The question of the inclusiveness with which to list themes was a problem. On the one hand, it was possible to list "police," "gun," "jewels," "school" separately, and it was possible to say "arrested by police," "steal jewels," "fail in school," "be absent from school," "hate school," "graduate from school." In general the isolated elements apart from context or meaning were listed, but where any more specific complex theme, such as "elude police," was repeated, it was listed too. The general criterion was that a theme was listed if it appeared in any three or more stories. It would be helpful in each case of aggression to know to whom it was shown, and by whom, how it was shown, and the motive if it was stated. But no systematic attempt was made to refine the analysis to that extent.

Another problem which arose was the extent to which interpretation was admissible. Here no hard and fast line could be drawn. Some interpretation was necessary, but it was agreed to cut interpretation to a minimum. Motives were not read into a character's behavior which were not openly expressed in the story. A subject was not called anxious, worried, or frightened unless it was specifically so stated, even though all the circumstances would make such an interpretation seem reasonable. For instance, a girl might feel anxious when she returns home late at night and finds her mother waiting at the head of the stairs. But unless the story specifically said that she was worried, it was not counted as a theme. We stuck closely to the actual wording and expression of attitudes and meanings and reduced interpretation of these intangible attitudes to a minimum. In fact, there was a tendency to lean over backwards to avoid interpretation, except what was pretty clearly stated or indicated. It is possible that some themes were not included because of this, but at the same time the danger of read-

ing one's private motivations and propensities into the analysis was avoided.

Part of the difference arising from interpretation was a genuine difference in the feeling tone which a story aroused in the reader. One reader might interpret an incident as "longing for home"; another, as "glad to get away from home." One situation might be felt as tense and anxious by one reader, but would not be so interpreted by another. In general, an attempt was made to minimize interpretations which would necessitate too much reading meaning or feeling into the situation.

The matter of vocabulary also was a factor in some of the discrepancy between Mrs. Chamoulaud's and the writer's analyses. There was not complete agreement because the categories were differently phrased, and these differences would represent some slight difference in emphasis, or combination, all of which only pointed to the complexity of the task. One had the theme "caught"; the other, "caught in crime." One had the category "reform-striving," which really included two ideas in one, while the other had "hard working adolescent," which also was a combination of two concepts. Since it was impossible to define ahead of time what themes were going to be found, there was no attempt to standardized the wording of the themes, although that would have to be done when the list of the most frequently recurring items is presented. So far as possible the subjects' own words were used to minimize interpretation, at least in the first recording of themes.

Finally, it was arbitrarily decided that a theme would be considered significant for this study only if it occurred in *three* or more of the forty-two stories of an individual. In all the following analyses and tabulations the inclusion of a theme means that it was noted in three or more stories by one individual. This quantitative requirement may mean that significant items which occurred only once or twice were eliminated from further consideration, but this requirement of three seemed like a reasonable first step in the reduction of the mass of themes isolated.

General Facts Regarding the Incidence of Themes

In all, 1,850 themes were listed as having occurred three or more times in the stories of the forty boys and girls, an average of 46.25

themes per individual. The range was extreme, going from 15 themes for one girl to 93 for another girl. Of these, 1,012, or an average of 50.6, were analyzed for the boys; whereas 838, or 41.9, for the girls. These data point consistently to a higher fantasy content among the boys than among the girls. The twenty-three junior high school pupils produced on the average 46.5 themes, and the senior high school pupils 45.9 themes—so that there is not an appreciable maturity difference in this age-group. By ages, the average number of themes are as follows:

TABLE 3
AVERAGE NUMBER OF DIFFERENT THEMES BY
INDIVIDUAL BY AGE

<i>Ages</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Average Number of Themes</i>
12	1	47.0
13	7	40.2
14	12	42.6
15	7	57.4
16	8	46.1
17	4	49.8
18	1	41.0

Although one might suspect a peak in fantasy production at age 15, the numbers are so small that the differences are easily attributable to chance.

A count was made not only of the different themes but also of the number of stories in which separate themes were recognized. In all, there were 10,797 themes recognized in the 1,680 stories produced, or an average of 6.43 per story. This gives an average of 270 per individual. The range again was considerable, going from a low of 66 to a high of 526. Of these, 6,276 were produced by boys and 4,521 by girls, or an average of 313 themes apiece for boys and 226 apiece for the girls.

This ratio is higher than the ratio of number of different themes between boys and girls. This means that boys not only produce more different themes than the girls but also spread these items more widely throughout the stories.

By age the average number of occurrences of themes throughout the stories is shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4

AVERAGE NUMBER OF THEMES PRODUCED BY INDIVIDUAL BY AGE

Age	Number	Average Number of Themes Produced per Individual
12	1	227
13	7	264
14	12	259
15	7	321
16	8	255
17	4	280
18	1	207

The peak at age 15 still remains, but not too much should be made of it in view of the small number of cases.⁴

In addition to the count of theme production by individuals, there was also a count by picture. It was hoped thereby to determine the fantasy value of pictures by sex and by age and also to determine the influence of order of pictures on output of fantasy.

The total number of fantasies per picture story was 257, ranging from only 159 for picture 7 (two motherly looking ladies talking across a fence) to 319 for picture 38 (the heads of two girls, one facing toward the front, frowning, the other facing in the opposite direction).

These totals per picture were plotted in order on a graph, and it was evident from inspection that fewer themes were produced in the early pictures in the sequence than in the later pictures.⁵ The following parabolic curve was passed through the points: $y = 184.7 + 6.049$

⁴It might be thought possible that the sex differences were due to the fact that part of the analyses were made by the writer and part by Mrs. Chamoulaud, since the writer analyzed the stories of 10 boys and 8 girls, while Mrs. Chamoulaud did those of 11 boys and 11 girls. But the writer's average theme production per individual was 298, while Mrs. Chamoulaud's was 246 so that the sex differences cannot be ascribed to this factor.

⁵The asymptote which the best fitting exponential curve $y = ae^{bx} + c$ would reach was estimated by the following formula

$$c = \frac{y_1 y_2 - y_3^2}{y_1 + y_2 - 2y_3}$$

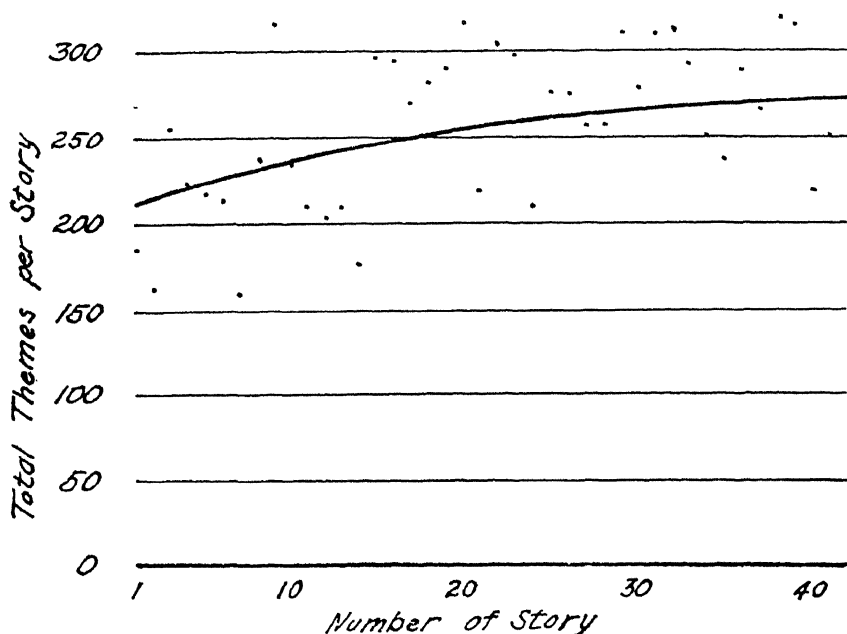
where c is the asymptote, y_1 and y_2 two points which apparently lie close to the curve for values x_1 and x_2 , and y_3 the point on the curve for $x_3 = \frac{x_1 + x_2}{2}$.

This asymptote comes out in the neighborhood of 290, indicating that the parabolic curve had come within 8 points of this asymptote at its maximum and was only 22 points below it for card 20 and 14 points below it for card 25.

The equation for the exponential curve of best fit is: $y = 290 - 77.75 e^{-0.038602x}$

Lipka, Joseph, *Graphical and Mechanical Computation*. John Wiley & Sons (1918), pp. 143, 144.

$x = .0947 x^2$. This curve came to a maximum at 31.9. The fact that the mathematical curve goes down after the 32d card is merely an artifact, and undoubtedly, with a larger number of cases, more cards, etc., the curve would reach an asymptote. Rough inspection of the points would indicate that for all practical purposes the curve reaches a maximum at about the 20th card.



EXPONENTIAL CURVE FITTED TO GRAPH SHOWING NUMBER OF THEMES PRODUCED FOR EACH PICTURE IN SEQUENCE.

These facts point clearly to the presence of a warming-up effect. It seems hardly possible that the early cards in the series were just less successful in evoking fantasy, although one could not say that this warming-up effect was inevitable. Placing cards early in the series which are more productive of fantasy might help in shortening the warming-up period. More attention to rapport and the overcoming of resistance might also aid. However, the chances are that some warming-up effect would always be experienced. It requires some adjustment to the task, to the examiner, and to the situation for a child to feel free enough to produce stories with the fantasy content of which he is capable. These facts probably indicate that one should not

judge the fantasy production of an individual from the first stories, but judgment must be suspended until well on in the series when the individual has hit his stride. On the basis of this evidence one would say that by this method at least twenty and preferably twenty-five or more stories should be given in a series for the study of the fantasy life of an individual.

It was evident that there were differences in the capacity of pictures to evoke fantasy. The seven most productive pictures were compared with the least productive pictures. Certain factors stood out from a cursory inspection as in part responsible for the differences. The pictures which were productive of fantasy differed from those less productive in the following ways: they were simple and unencumbered with detail. Only one or two figures were present. Each presented or implied human relationship. Each tended to arouse emotion. There was an element of vagueness or mystery.

The stories which were less productive of fantasy had the following characteristics which were not so completely true of those most productive:

The pictures included no figure with which the individual could identify. In two of the seven older persons were portrayed, and in three no figure was prominent.

Three of the pictures were filled with details and were complicated.

Picture 14 was highly suggestive sexually, and there was considerable evidence that this picture produced real blocking. The reaction time (time between presentation of card and beginning of story) was considerably longer on the average on this picture than on other pictures. Several pupils put the card down and asked to be excused from telling a story. In several cases pupils protected themselves by making the two naked figures statues and weaving a story around this concept.

It seemed possible that boys produced fantasy more readily in response to pictures having characters with whom they could identify, as did girls. This was tested by tabulating separately the theme production obtained from pictures in which there were male characters (13 pictures) and those in which there were female characters (16 pictures). The ratio of themes produced by girls to those produced by boys from the pictures with male characters was .695; with female characters .787. Thus, the hypothesis was borne out. Boys do respond

to pictures with male characters with relatively more fantasy material, while girls produce more in response to pictures with female characters.

A similar test revealed no pictures which surely elicited more productive stories from any particular age group.

V. INVENTORY OF THEMES IN ADOLESCENT FANTASY

*T*HIS CHAPTER presents an inventory of the themes as found in the 1,680 stories which were collected. The data herewith presented comprise the first actual count of the themes to be found in fantasy material of this kind. They should be useful in the future in interpreting fantasy story material and should serve as normative data against which to compare fantasy productions of individuals and groups.

Themes were classified into natural groupings, and the results were tabulated by sex and by age, as shown in Tables 5-7.¹ These themes were finally separated into three large groups: (1) those of a psychological nature, (2) those of an environmental nature, and (3) those derived from stylistic qualities of the stories. No attempt was made to analyze the grammatical and other structural features of the stories.

The distinction between psychological and environmental themes is somewhat arbitrary. What you do to another person is psychological; what another person does to you is environmental. Whether a theme is psychological or environmental would depend on which character in the story is taken as the point of reference. One might consider themes from the point of view of the main character or hero; or the adolescent character in the stories might be the focal point. But it is possible that the pupil is identifying, to some extent, at least, with some one of the lesser characters in a story. Aggression is called psychological, although actually the villain in the story is typically the aggressive character who temporarily forces the hero to submit. On the other hand, punishment has been placed in the environmental group, notwithstanding its obvious psychological significance, because

¹ The classification was carried out in large part by Miss Kathryn Albert, but was checked over and corrected by the author.

in these stories punishment is given to the criminal character by the avenging authority.

Summaries of the themes are given in Tables 5, 6, and 7.

TABLE 5
PSYCHOLOGICAL THEMES

<i>Themes</i>	BY CASES			BY OCCURRENCES		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>G</i>
Aggression	40	20	20	1,562	988	574
Eroticism	36	17	19	459	286	173
Negative emotion; depression	29	15	14	349	187	162
Anxiety	28	14	14	310	130	180
Altruism	28	14	14	401	198	203
Success; ambition	25	11	14	268	156	112
Repentance; reform	24	14	10	305	217	88
Positive emotion	22	10	12	193	78	115
Excitement	18	12	6	312	247	65
Escape	16	11	5	136	107	29
Thinking; decision	16	9	7	248	118	130
Morality; goodness	15	8	7	112	58	54
Jealousy	13	5	8	52	23	29
Concealment	10	5	5	119	55	64
Wrong; badness	10	7	3	81	60	21
Guilt; conscience	10	3	7	58	19	39
Yearning; wanting	7	3	4	54	19	35
Fatigue	6	2	4	31	17	14
Craziness	5	3	2	33	24	9
Waiting	5	1	4	25	3	22
Dreams; day dreams	4	2	2	15	8	7
Miscellaneous				376	142	234
Total				5,499	3,140	2,359

In preparing the classification of themes, a certain amount of interpretation and judgment was necessary. Separate themes were thrown into groups because of similarities, but it must be frankly stated that certain groupings are based on assumptions which are believed to be true or on the whole true. A good example is the inclusion of themes of "death" under "aggression." Themes of violent death certainly belong in this category; themes of passive death less surely. They were included, however, on the hypothesis that in each instance there was implied a "death wish."² Under aggression were also tabulated a number of milder forms; "persuasion" is an example. Perhaps the aggressive aspect of persuasion is so mild that it might well be classified

²This assumption is verified from the correlations reported in Chapter IX.

in another group or even by itself, but it was decided to include it under aggression.

"Return" and "Coming back" were included under "Separation; rejection." That these are the opposites of separation is recognized, but

TABLE 6
ENVIRONMENTAL THEMES

<i>Categories</i>	BY CASES			BY OCCURRENCES		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>G</i>
Family relationships	40	20	20	1,595	766	829
Economic	38	20	18	632	370	262
Punishment	33	18	15	614	484	130
Separation; rejection	32	18	14	397	185	212
Accidents; illness; injury	28	14	14	297	189	108
School	28	15	13	251	122	129
Social; gangs	21	9	12	130	70	60
Place of residence	17	8	9	98	56	42
Appearance	13	3	10	75	15	60
Strangeness; unusualness	12	8	4	125	85	40
Discussion; advice	10	7	3	54	33	21
Age	10	5	5	46	23	23
Gossip	8	5	3	55	31	24
Entertainment	7	3	4	41	23	18
Work	7	3	4	39	15	24
Night	4	2	2	25	12	13
Food; eating	4	3	1	22	16	6
Mail; writing	4	2	2	14	7	7
Miscellaneous				294	211	83
Total				4,804	2,713	2,091

"return" implies having been away, and this group of themes covers the concept of separation and coming together rather than separation by itself.

There were reasons why "escape" and "rescue" might have been grouped together, since they both have the common meaning of being

TABLE 7
STYLISTIC THEMES

<i>Categories</i>	BY CASES			BY OCCURRENCES		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>G</i>
Style	27	16	11	680	464	216
Ending	17	10	7	289	165	124
Total				969	629	340
Grand total				11,272	6,482	4,790

saved. However, "rescue" was placed in the altruism group, having a close affinity to themes of "hero" and "heroic situation." In general, themes were placed according to their active rather than their passive meaning. What a person does is more important, in general, than what is done to him. Most themes have a dual meaning, according to whether they are thought of from the point of view of the agent or of the recipient. For this reason themes of rescue were classified from the point of view of the rescuer in the altruistic group rather than from the point of view of the rescued in the "escape" group.

Themes of "repentance" and "reform" were placed together in the same group, although the meaning is slightly different. One implies dissatisfaction with old ways; the other, the adoption of new ways.

Under the heading of concealment, themes of "discovery" were listed. This would seem to be another instance in which opposites are grouped together, but in discovery there is the implication that what is discovered was necessarily concealed.

Other strange companions are fatigue, sleep, wake up, but it may be seen that these belong to the same continuum of rest-fatigue.

"Crash" and "collision" could have been placed in the excitement group, but it was decided to include them under "accident." These may serve as samples of some of the issues faced in the classification and the basis on which certain decisions were made.

The tables speak largely for themselves. *Hate* and *love* occupy the two top positions among the psychological themes. One of the most significant facts to be noted from all this tabulation is that all forty cases—both boys and girls, old and young—gave themes having aggressive significance. It is interesting that *death* occurred as a theme in the stories of 32 individuals, *crime* in 21, *murder* in 18, *fighting* in 16, *anger* in 18, while 20 expressed aggression by themes of *disapproval*, *forbidding*, *scolding*.

Erotic themes appeared in 36 cases; but in few cases were these expressed as sex. In 24 cases there was a reference to marriage, in 20 boy-girl situations and relationships, in 13 to friendship, and 8 spoke directly of love and falling in love.

It could be only natural that with so great an expression of themes which are not only not favorably received, but even condemned by adults, there should be many references to *punishment* (33 cases).

The policeman was a very common figure in these stories (27). It is the writer's impression that punishment was an outcome of aggression or wrongdoing and that in hardly an instance was love punished. On the contrary, when love was mentioned it was surrounded with a halo of bliss and "living happily ever after." Punishment is listed in the table as an environmental theme, although it is given as well as received by the adolescent figures in the stories.

Two stories are herewith given in which themes of aggression and eroticism are pronounced.

STORY A (AGGRESSION)

This boy's father had died twenty years ago, when he was 1. The boy is now 21. Father left insurance. Boy got a car. Decided to show it to mother. Drove it 80 miles per hour. Sped along. Saw old woman coming out on street. Hit her. Drove home. Screamed "mother, mother." Realized it was his own mother. Rushed back to street of accident. She was dying and said she hoped he wouldn't be so mean after this. She died. He went to jail and got life imprisonment. (Harold, age 13; case 5, story 22)

STORY B (EROTICISM)

Once in a town—let's see—I need a good start—the Townvilles had one daughter. Ambitious to have her grow up and marry a rich man's son. In high school they had her go with son of Horace Greeley, a wealthy banker. But girl did not like him, and had another boy in mind, named Richard. So one day while walking home with John Greeley, she met Richard and made a signal with him to meet him at a certain place (Oh, another rotten story!). They met and ran away and got married and were never heard of again. But happy ever after. End. (Raymond, age 14, case 3, story 5)

More typical, however, are stories in which aggressive and erotic themes are mixed, as illustrated by the following story. This story also provides a typical illustration of a punishment theme.

STORY C (AGGRESSION AND EROTICISM)

Marion Johnson was rich girl in Stanton. Always a line for boys in town and more than once seen going out with more than one boy. One of main attractions in town. Very rich. One day a letter came saying that Marion would be kidnapped if certain amount not paid. Letter not noticed. Thought crook sent it. One day Marion was walking from school with boys, a sharp command "Halt!" Boys told to scatter by man with gun. Marion

to stay. Thrown in car. Kidnapped. Letter to parents demands \$1,000,000. This letter heeded. Got together money. Next night another letter—where to put money. Put money there. Girl returned. She gave police all the description possible, and they let her alone. Six months later they received \$1,000,000 back and pictures of kidnapper. Caught by police. Sentenced to life. Then Marion was married next year to one of boys who had hounded her. (Raymond, age 14; case 3, story 42)

Next in order of frequency among the themes comes *depression* (29 cases). Positive emotion, such as *happiness* or *euphoria*, appears in an appreciably fewer number of cases (22). Stories D and E illustrate these two themes.

STORY D (DEPRESSION)

Appears as if woman receiving letter is expecting bad news. Look in face doesn't seem to indicate any enthusiasm in receiving letter. Seems as if she's in a different world, the look in her eyes. Seems her taking letter was just mechanical motion. Woman is very ordinary looking and looks more like secretary than housewife. Perhaps her boy friend has written her that due to financial conditions and the tie-up in work they cannot be married for at least a year. She had an inkling this would happen because of his actions in recent weeks. She feels, perhaps, he doesn't love her any more and is merely using that as an excuse to break off. I don't feel they ever will be married (I am awfully pessimistic). Girl will never forget him. (Albert, age 17; case 40, story 1)

STORY E (HAPPINESS)

Boy and girl wanted to get married. Well, a man and woman. Lady 25; man 27. Didn't know how she'd get out. Wanted to surprise her father. He might say no. She packed her suitcase full of necessary things. He put ladder up. Had car. She got out. Portable ladder. Taken away. When father found her missing sent police after. When father found she was married, he wasn't mad. He was so happy, he got her job, bought her house and furniture, and they lived happily ever after. (Ralph, age 13; case 2, story 10)

Anxiety (28), which comes next, should be coupled with themes of *guilt* and *conscience* (10). It is probable that the count for those themes is too small. Anxiety or guilt was entered only if it was overtly mentioned or recognized as such in the stories. There were many instances in which anxiety was suspected—the reader believes he would feel anxious in a similar situation—but it was not listed if it was not

specifically mentioned as such. Stories F and G, which follow, provide illustrations of themes of *anxiety* and *guilt*.

STORY F (ANXIETY)

Girl coming home from school. Kind of bad. Had a test in a number of subjects. Didn't think she passed, or worried about something. As she came home went past porch, sat down on the grass to think out all different things. Her mind was all jumbled up. Great deal worried. Her first marks were very important. Didn't want to drop out of that course. After a while, fainting, she figured out some way she could study, some way she could get her work done. After she thought out all these problems, she felt much better. Thought of a way of dividing her time. Saw new light on a number of things. (Lois, age 16; case 26, story 28)

STORY G (GUILT)

Boy's name is John. Mother a widow. He got in trouble in school. Mother had to go up to school. Teacher told him he was fooling around too much in school. He said he was sorry. Here she's describing how her husband died. Boy never knew this. He was small. Telling how big brother ran away because he didn't have enough money off mother. Mother telling how much she'll have to depend on him when he's old enough to work. He'll have to support her. He's thinking over situation. Promises not to get into trouble. From then on, a good guy in school. (Jack, age 15; case 4, story 17)

Following these are themes of *altruism* (28), *ambition* and *success* (25). *Repentance* and *reform* (24) have been tabulated together. *Excitement* (18) would seem to be a typical adolescent interest. Themes of *thinking*, *deciding*, or *realizing* (16) and of *escape* (16) appeared frequently. *Good* (15) and *bad* (10) were persistent concerns of these boys and girls, and it is significant that all recognized more themes relating to the good than to the bad. Other psychological themes which have been separately listed are *jealousy* (13), *concealment-hiding* (10), *yearning* (7) *fatigue*, *being tired* (6), *crazy* (5), *waiting* (5) and *dreaming-day dreaming* (4). Stories H, I, J, K, L, which follow, illustrate some of the themes mentioned.

STORY H (ALTRUISM)

Teachers planning annual festival at school. In one class two girls were being considered for a large part. Girls were different. Sue was gentle—wanted part, but would give it up gladly. Mary—just the opposite—very

bitter about it. Didn't know what to do. Teacher chose Sue. Sue very glad. Mary bitter over it. Resolved she would make it difficult for Sue. Sue noticed this. Gave part to Mary. Knew she wanted it. When Sue went to see festival, felt good because she knew through her sacrifice she had made someone else happier. Had a pang of envy. But felt in the end that she had done a better thing. (Viola, age 14; case 14, story 41)

STORY I (AMBITION; SUCCESS; REALIZATION)

Young Johnny lived in New York City. Pretty bad. Bad reports. Father dead. Mother had to support him. Wash woman. One ambition that her one son would go to college. Took him aside and talked to him. He was smart, but never tried. Now he did. Great raise in marks. Realized he could get scholarship. Studied hard. Mother helped. Physics exam, psychology exam, which they taught—an unusual subject; mother helped. He also studied chemistry. At first he thought it a lot of stuff. Now realized there was something to it. Gets scholarship. Years later this young fellow is one of the greatest scientists ever and president of experimental scientific concern. (Sam, age 14; case 9, story 17)

STORY J (RESCUE, ESCAPE)

Spanish girl—moved into Florence's neighborhood. Were raised together. Rosetta did something dishonest. Flo tried to straighten her out. Rosetta listened to her. Florence glad Rosetta didn't spoil her reputation. Girls grew to love each other. Went swimming. Florence was far out; called for help. Rosetta noticed her. Called life guard. Swam in water, life guard in boat; helped her until boat came. Florence thankful to Rosetta. Florence's family gave Rosetta a banquet for saving Florence's life. (Laura, age 13; case 13, story 33)

STORY K (EXCITEMENT)

Bus wreck. This girl was coming home from school. The nutty driver was going 80 miles an hour. The train is coming. He sees the super-limited coming down the track. The gates go down. He thinks he can beat it. He goes 85, 90, 95. The kids don't know what's flying. There is a blue light. They say "Come on Louie, let's step it up." He steps it up to 105. He puts it right down in the floor. He says "How am I going kids?" Then Louie hears the sirens of the state troopers. The whistle of the train. So he blows his horn. Then he sees nuttin'. The bus and the train hit and the top of the bus flew off. All the kids were flying around like angels. They all land on haystack.

The driver lands in the cab. He knocks the engineer and fireman out.

He pulls the lever down. The bus gets thrown off the tracks in front of the police car.

He goes as fast as the super-limited can go around death curve. All of a sudden the observation car leaves the tracks. They bust a couple near the engine, and the cars went flying into the soft mud on the edge of the river, and no one was hurt. Then Louie hits the mountain and jams on the air brakes. He is thrown back on the haystack with all the kids. The state troopers take him, and he was put in the nut house. (Wallace, age 13; case 1, story 28)

Frequently themes of *good* and *bad* were personified by two characters in a story, and the struggle between them in the story is indicative of the conflict going on within the individual telling it.

STORY L (GOOD AND BAD)

The Howards were a family who had the poor fortune to live on the wrong side of the fence. Had two boys, Ralph (Spike) and David—name fitted him perfectly. Fair, very good-natured. Liked to write poetry. Boys grew apart as they grew older. Boys' habits were naturally different. Spike was going around with a gang of boys that were set on the wrong road. David was determined to make something of his life. Many arguments arose. One day Spike came running up to David gasping for air. Needed money bad. David knew without asking what it was for. Hesitated. Being the type he was, he helped his brother out. Decided to have a showdown. They did, and the situation was cleared up. Spike decided to try David's way. (Nancy, age 15; case 31, story 19)

Of the environmental themes, by far the largest number relate to *members of the family*. All 40 of these adolescent boys and girls made three or more references to one or more members of the family. This bears out the contention that the adolescent is not yet weaned from his family, and a large part of the adolescent struggle centers around family relationships. Of the various members of the family, the most frequent references are to *mother* (38) and *father* (37), with indefinite mentions of *family* (24) and *parents* (22) occurring less frequently. Then there is a tendency to project oneself forward (or backward) into the role of the parents, which makes it possible for 19 individuals to use the themes *husband*, 17 *wife*, and 18 *children*, 26 *son*, and 11 *daughter*. *Brother* and *sister* are themes in the stories of 13 individuals each.

All the psychological themes listed in the first part of the table are

expressed on the stage of the family. In Story A aggression toward the mother is expressed in undisguised fashion. It is believed, but without proof, that much of the aggression and hostility expressed toward other individuals—teachers, crooks, etc. are displacements of attitudes felt originally toward members of the family.

Love toward members of the family is found much less frequently than aggression. Apparently the incestuous barrier is closed by a stricter censor than are aggressive tendencies. There were no stories showing love as such for parent of opposite sex. However, in the following story love is indicated by a girl for her mother.

STORY M (LOVE TOWARD MEMBER OF FAMILY)

Jane raced across the road from home to barn looking for her father. She hoped he hadn't forgotten to get her what she wanted, because she needed it by tomorrow. But he wouldn't forget it—too important. Found him pitching hay. Asked if he had it. Father asked what. What I asked you to get. Father: I really don't know what you wanted. Jane: Please don't tease me: I have to wrap it up now. Father produced a big box. Jane had it in her room. Next day Jane came downstairs with hands behind back. Kissed mother, wished her a happy birthday and gave her the big box of candy. (Barbara, age 14; case 20, story 40)

That themes of an *economic* nature (38) should occupy second place in the list of environmental themes is a tribute to the psychological importance of a money economy. *Money* is a theme for 32 individuals, while *work* and *job* is a theme for 27. Money is desired for its own sake as a sign of wealth and power. But money also is a symbol of many psychological tendencies and can be used as a vehicle for the expression of security, love, guilt, altruism, aggression, jealousy, and others.

Punishment (33) has already been commented on. While some themes of punishment grow out of family relationships, most of them deal with the formal punishment of the law as indicated by themes such as *police* (27), *prison* (14), *capture* (14), *arrest* (6), and *sentence* (5).

Accident, *illness*, and *injury* play an important part in the lives of these adolescent boys and girls, as indicated by the fact that they are themes for 28 of them. *School* (28) also occupies a prominent position, with concern about *failure* (3), *finishing school* (2), *lessons* and

study (3). The erotic interests of the adolescent find outlet in numerous stories of *parties* and *dances* (16).

Place of residence (17) seems to occupy an unexpectedly important place. References to *home* (13) have not been indicated under this heading, but rather under the heading family relationships, because their references to home seemed to reflect the emotional attitudes toward the family rather than to home as merely a place to live. An unusually high number of items having to do with *country*, *farm*, *small town* (11) indicate the yearning to live a simpler and richer emotional life. Probably stories and movies that emphasize the warmth of family life and emotional life on farms and in small communities, as well as the satisfactions of contact with nature, have contributed to this interest.

Personal appearance (13) is an important theme for adolescents, as might be expected. Adolescent interest in the *strange*, the *unusual*, and the *weird* (12) is well represented and a number of subjects told mystery stories.

Other miscellaneous themes relate to *age* (10), *entertainment*, *sport*, *movies* (7), *discussion*, *advice* (10), *gossip* (8), *work* (7), *night* (4), *food*, *eating* (4), *fire* (3), *mail* and *writing* (4).

Peculiarities of style were noted in 27 of the sets of stories. The tendency to *contrast types of individuals* was noted in 8. Usually this relates to the good and the bad, and while projected out into the characters in the stories, undoubtedly reflects conflicting tendencies within the individual telling the stories.

The *ending* (17) of a story has peculiar significance. The stories of 14 individuals were found to have consistently positive or happy endings, while 4 permitted endings to be tragic or fatal. This need to have stories end happily is undoubtedly connected with guilt tendencies, although this might not be shown by statistical analysis. Indeed, correlation methods would be untrustworthy in this connection, because as a person finds outlet for a tendency in one direction, he may have less need to express the same tendency by other methods. It would seem that a number of individuals can permit themselves the luxury of creating a dramatic and aggressive episode, but cannot afford to leave it harmful or destructive. In some way they must correct the damage by some sort of reparation or reconstruction, so that the innocent characters can "live happily ever after." A much smaller number

are content to permit the damage to persist. The following story illustrates this kind of tragic ending.

STORY N (TRAGIC ENDING)

The girl's lover went up to Canada to start a fox farm to make some money so that they can get married. While up there he killed some foxes and made himself a coat. He put on his fox coat and went next door to the man who owned the chickens and talked to the chickens. The man thought he was a fox and shot him, and the girl got a letter saying he was dead. (Catherine, age 14; case 12, story 1)

This girl says of herself "There are only four in our family—my mother, brother and me, and the dog, all of which I love dearly. My father is the best in the whole world. All in all we have a happy home life." (She left her mother out in the original typing and inserted reference to her later.) An investigator reports "Most of the school was turning out this afternoon for a football game, but Catherine was unable to go because she had to walk around with her mother."

Among other stylistic elements to be noted was a tendency to use specific *names*, *accounts*, or *localities* (7). *Exaggeration* was a noticeable feature in the stories of 6 individuals, all of them younger boys, and it might be said that this tendency to exaggerate is one of the outstanding characteristics of the younger adolescent. Girls, on the other hand, go in for *detailed description* (6)

SEX DIFFERENCES

There were a number of apparent sex differences, but those to be commented on here have met the statistical criterion—that is, there was .05³ or smaller probability that the difference was one which could have occurred by chance.

³ The statistical problem is as follows: It is found that 10 boys and 3 girls gave themes of *violent death*. Is this a difference greater than to be expected by chance in a sample of 20 boys and 20 girls? The conditions may be written in a fourfold table as follows:

	Boy	Girl	Total
Having themes of violent death	10	3	13
Not having themes of violent death	10	17	27
Total	20	20	

Fisher has shown that the probability of occurrence of such a set of entries is given by the formula

$$\frac{(a+b)!(c+d)!(a+c)!(b+d)!}{N! a! b! c! d!}$$

This stringent requirement makes the number of differences between the sexes less than might be expected by anyone who casually glances at the tables. There are a larger number of themes in which boys surpass girls than in which girls surpass boys, probably attributable to the fact that boys provided a larger number of themes in general than did the girls. This imbalance, however, is inconsequential, for a difference, whether toward the boys or toward the girls, is one that applies equally to both sexes.

Boys produce stories containing themes of *violent death*, *crime* and *criminals* or *murderers* more often than do girls. There are no *aggressive* themes in which girls outnumber the boys that meet the statistical criterion, but there is a slight tendency for girls to express *aggression* more by *disobedience*, *rebellion*, *coercion*, and other forms of *resistance* rather than by the more violent forms that boys so readily express. Boys introduce themes of *police*, *arrest*, *prison*, and *prison sentence* more often than do girls. It is perhaps unexpected that boys should more frequently introduce themes of *love* or *falling in love* than do girls, whereas girls more often have themes of *friends* and *children*. It is clear that boys tell stories with a more primitive and direct expression of the passions than do girls.

Boys are also more interested in themes of *wealth* and *riches*. As has already been stated, in the stories of boys one finds *exaggeration* and reference to *specific items*, whereas girls give more *detailed descriptions*.

Age Differences

Comparisons were made between cases 15 years old and older and those 14 years or younger, since there happened to be exactly 20 cases in each of these two groups. There were 15 comparisons in which the old showed a preponderance of themes as compared with the young, but only one comparison in which the young had the statistically reliable greater number. It is impossible to divine a reason for this dis-

In the illustration given this becomes

$$\frac{13! \ 27! \ 20! \ 20!}{40! \ 10! \ 10! \ 3! \ 17!} = .0175.$$

To this must be added the probability of other combinations having the same marginal totals (13, 17, 20, and 20) and less probability of occurring, making a total of $.0204 \times 2$ (to take care of both ends of the distribution) = .041. Therefore this probability is within the .05 criterion, and the difference exceeds that to be expected by chance by this criterion.

crepancy, inasmuch as there is no consistent age difference in the total number of themes. However, this imbalance is not too serious, for if the older group possesses a characteristic to a large degree, the younger group may be expected to possess it to a lesser degree.

The only characteristic in which the young exceeded the old is in being *happy*. The older group, on the other hand, produced more themes of *discouragement* and *disappointment*, of *anxiety* and *worry*, of *fear*, *dread*, and *alarm*. This paints the picture of early adolescence as a carefree period, characterized by more violent expression and a minimum atmosphere of guilt. Adolescents over fifteen, on the other hand, face sharper conflicts with family, social standards, and the expectations of society. Stories given by the younger group express crude hopes and longings, set in a world of primitive passions—those given by the older group show some disillusionment, disappointment over the past and present, anxiety concerning the future.

These anxieties are evident in the greater number of themes relating to *job*, *work*, and *school*. Problems of *conformity* and of *personal attractiveness* are represented in a large number of themes by the older group. There are more references to *sport*, *activities*, *parties*, and *dances*. The older group has a greater number of themes in which *scolding*, *disapproval*, and *forbidding* are present, indicating that at this period conflict with the family has mounted. Themes of *anger* occur more frequently in stories by the older group.

It is significant that more of the older group than of the younger introduce *age* into their stories.

Wondering, *thinking*, and *musings* are other themes more commonly expressed by the older group indicating again their greater seriousness and preoccupation with their concerns.

Wifeness is the only family relationship showing an age difference, being expressed more often by the older group. Family relationships remain a strong interest throughout the adolescent period. It is only as boys and girls approach maturity that marital relations really concern them.

In interpreting these data, one final word of caution seems necessary. These data are relative to a number of factors. In the first place, the stories were gathered in a particular place—Suburban City—and in a particular year—1940-1941—and the stories necessarily reflect this place and time. Superficially, the stories reflect the movies,

comic books, and radio skits which were current during this period. Secondly, the stories were to a considerable extent conditioned by the pictures which served as stimuli. A picture in which a boy and an older woman are standing face to face drew forth a larger number of themes such as mother and teacher than pictures without such a mature feminine figure. There were no significant themes of the sea or mountains and no suggestion of them in any of the pictures. On the other hand, it is believed that the psychological themes, at any rate, in a representative fashion tap the major psychological drives to be found in the fantasies of adolescents in our culture.

VI. NORMS ON THE PICTURE-STORY TEST

*I*N THE PRECEDING CHAPTER an inventory of themes from the picture-story method was presented. These data permit the establishment of norms of expectancy of the frequency of occurrence of any given theme. It is possible, for instance, to make a frequency distribution of the occurrence of the themes for each of the forty individuals from which medians, quartiles, and other points may be computed, and these may serve as norms. As an example, consider the following distribution of occurrence of the theme "money" (which is a subhead under the general classification "Economic" themes) in Table 8. Each entry in this distribution table tells in how many of the 42 stories told by one individual the theme "money" appears. The median—5.8—indicates that at least 20 of the 40 individuals will have 6 or more stories out of the 42 in which some reference to money is made.

In the original inventory of themes no theme was finally listed that did not occur three times or more in any set of 42 stories. Accordingly, in this frequency distribution of occurrences of the theme "money" there are no entries against the frequencies 1 and 2, which means that there can be no lower quartile point or median below 2.5. However, any median or quartile point as small as that would be inconsequential.¹

The norms are given in Table 9 in terms of medians and upper and lower quartiles. These are presented both by number of story and also in percentages, which would enable a worker to estimate the expectation from stories told from any number of pictures. These norms may be used for the interpretation of the significance of picture-story fan-

¹In order to facilitate the preparation of these frequency distribution tables, Miss Rhoda Lawner prepared a graphic chart for each theme in which 40 spaces in one direction stood for the 40 individuals who were tested and 42 spaces in the other direction stood for the 42 stories. A square was filled in with blue pencil to indicate that a given theme was found in the corresponding story for a given boy and a square blocked in in red indicated that the theme in question was to be found in a given story as told by a girl.

tasy material. It is assumed that any theme occurring with a frequency between the upper and the lower quartiles is within the normal range. Themes occurring with a greater frequency than the upper quartile should have special significance in the fantasy life of an individual, and those occurring less frequently than the lower quartile should play an exceptionally insignificant role in the fantasy life of an individual or these themes have been in some way blocked or inhibited.

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF THE OCCURRENCE OF THE THEME "MONEY"
AMONG THE 42 STORIES TOLD BY THE 40 CASES

<i>Number of Stories</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	
19	1	
18		
17	1	
16		
15		
14	1	
13		
12	1	
11	2	
10	3	$Q_3 = 9.3$
9	5	
8	4	Med. = 5.8
7		
6	3	$Q_1 = 2.8$
5	3	
4	2	
3	6	
2		
1		
0	8	
<hr/> Total		40

In a theme in which ten or more cases in the distribution have a frequency of zero there will be no Q_1 and when twenty or more cases have a frequency of zero there will be no Q_1 or median. Many of the entries in the table of norms do not include Q_1 or median values, which indicates that for these themes the Q_1 and/or median are below 2.5.

Altogether, there are only 30 main themes in this table of norms, but, in addition, there are other themes which are subcategories of the

TABLE 9
NORMS FOR THEMES IN PICTURE-STORY METHOD

<i>Themes</i>	NUMBER OF STORIES			PERCENTAGE		
	<i>Q₁</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Q₃</i>	<i>Q₁</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Q₃</i>
Family	17.5	23.5	25.9	41.6	55.9	61.7
Mother	6.3	9.5	13.8	15.0	22.6	32.8
Father	5.0	6.7	10.2	11.9	15.9	24.3
Family	...	3.2	6.1	...	7.6	14.5
Son	...	3.1	4.3	...	7.4	10.2
Parents	...	2.8	5.0	...	6.7	11.9
Husband	...	...	5.0	...	...	11.9
Children	...	...	3.8	...	...	9.0
Home	...	...	3.8	...	...	9.0
Wife	...	...	3.7	...	...	8.8
Sister	...	...	3.0	...	...	7.1
Daughter	...	...	2.8	...	...	6.7
Brother	...	...	2.8	...	...	6.7
Aggression	14.0	22.5	26.5	33.3	53.6	63.1
Death	2.9	6.0	9.5	...	14.3	22.6
Crime	...	...	7.5	...	...	17.9
Criminal; murderer	...	...	7.5	...	...	17.9
Scolding; nagging; disapproval	...	...	6.8	...	...	16.2
Violent death	...	...	3.5	...	...	8.3
Fighting; argument	...	...	4.2	...	...	10.0
Anger	...	...	3.8	...	...	9.0
Stealing; robbery	...	...	3.5	...	...	8.3
Economics	4.5	11.6	16.0	10.7	27.6	38.1
Money	2.8	5.8	9.3	6.7	13.8	22.1
Job; work	...	5.1	7.3	...	12.1	17.4
Wealth	...	...	3.5	...	...	8.1
Poor	...	...	4.0	...	...	9.5
Punishment	3.2	8.0	15.5	7.6	19.0	36.9
Police	...	4.3	7.2	...	10.2	17.1
Punishment	...	...	3.3	...	...	7.9
Capture	...	...	3.5	...	...	8.3
Prison; jail	...	...	4.1	...	...	9.8
Separation	2.8	7.5	13.0	6.7	17.9	30.9
City; trip; distant place	...	...	2.5	...	...	5.9
Running away	...	...	3.1	...	...	7.4
Lonely	...	...	2.5	...	...	5.9
Eroticism	4.6	7.2	12.5	11.0	17.1	29.7
Marriage	...	3.1	5.5	...	7.4	13.1
Boy-girl situation	...	...	6.8	...	...	16.2
Friends	...	...	4.0	...	...	9.5
Style	...	7.0	24.5	...	16.7	58.3
Anxiety	...	6.5	12.0	...	15.5	28.6
Anxiety; worry	...	3.0	4.0	...	7.1	9.5
Fear; dread; alarm	...	...	5.2	...	...	12.1
Altruism	...	6.0	13.5	...	14.3	32.1
Hero	...	...	2.8	...	...	6.7
Depression	...	5.5	15.0	...	13.1	35.7
Discouraged; disappointed	...	...	3.0	...	...	7.1

TABLE 9 (Continued)

<i>Themes</i>	NUMBER OF STORIES			PERCENTAGE		
	<i>Q₁</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Q₃</i>	<i>Q₁</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Q₃</i>
Success; ambition	...	4.5	9.5	...	10.7	22.6
Success	7.5	...	...	17.9
Ambition	2.5	...	...	5.9
School	...	4.5	8.3	...	10.7	19.8
Positive emotion	...	4.5	8.0	...	10.7	19.0
Happiness	5.2	...	...	12.4
Repentance; reform	...	4.2	9.0	...	10.0	21.4
Reform	5.1	...	...	12.1
Lesson learned	3.8	...	...	9.0
Accident, illness	...	4.0	9.5	...	9.5	22.6
Accident; injury	4.5	...	...	10.7
Illness	2.8	...	...	6.7
Socialness	...	2.8	5.5	...	6.7	13.1
Party; dance	3.8	...	...	9.0
Ending	11.0	...	...	26.2
Positive; happy ending	8.5	...	...	20.2
Thinking; decision	10.5	...	...	25.0
Excitement	10.5	...	...	25.0
Escape	4.5	...	...	10.7
Morality; goodness	4.5	...	...	10.7
Place of residence (excluding home)	4.2	...	...	10.0
Country; farm	2.8	...	...	6.7
Strangeness; unusualness	3.5	...	...	8.3
Appearance	3.1	...	...	7.4
Dress; costume	2.5	...	...	5.9
Jealousy; envy	2.9	...	...	6.9
Concealment	2.5	...	...	5.9
Badness; wrongdoing	2.5	...	...	5.9
Guilt	2.5	...	...	5.9
Parental attitude	2.5	...	...	5.9
Parental advice and counseling	2.5	...	...	5.9
Age	2.5	...	...	5.9

main themes for which norms have also been computed. For instance, under "Family" separate norms are given for Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, et cetera, and under "Aggression" separate norms are given for Death, Crime, Criminal, Fighting, et cetera. It is believed that actually these are the only themes that are significantly found in picture-story fantasy material.

For only six main themes (Family, Aggression, Economics, Punishment, Separation, and Eroticism) and four subsidiary themes (Mother, Father, Death, Money) are lower quartile values given. In the case of these themes the absence of a theme may be considered significant, but in the case of all other themes no particular significance

can be given to their absence. The presence in *any* frequency of any theme not given in this table may be considered significant. In other words, the frequent occurrence of themes such as aggression, punishment, depression, and others included in the table may be considered normal, but the presence of themes not included in the table must be considered unusual, and they should be interpreted as having special significance in the individual's fantasy life.

The presence of a theme more often than the third quartile norm or less often than the first quartile norm does not justify any suppositions about the personality of the teller of the stories. For instance, if a pupil includes themes of aggression in 75 percent or more of the stories which he tells, we should say that aggression occupies a prominent place in his fantasy life. More than that we cannot say. We do not know whether the person is aggressive in his social relations or whether he is lacking in aggressiveness. The significance of the presence or the absence of themes can be determined only by comparing the stories with case material which describes the personality and the behavior of the boy or the girl who told the story. Thematic Apperception Test material is being used today as though a summary of the themes found in the stories could directly enable one to interpret trends in the overt personality and behavior of the individual telling the stories. This is a gratuitous assumption and has not passed the usual tests of validity. It is not possible to say what any theme means, either for a given individual or in general, until comparative studies have been made between fantasy material and personality descriptions. The present data enables such comparisons to be made, and a few brief personality descriptions will be given of individuals who have exceedingly high or exceedingly low theme counts.

HIGH IN AGGRESSION

Roger (case 8) told 36 stories which included themes of aggression. Twenty-seven of his stories include themes of punishment and thirty-two stories, themes of excitement. This boy was brought up by grandparents who overprotected him, so that well into childhood he was helpless to dress himself and otherwise childish and immature. He is described as feminine in figure, somewhat mischievous, but pleasant and ingratiating.

Harold (case 5) told thirty-four stories having themes of aggression.

He was strictly brought up by a mother who superintends his every activity. He has been given dolls and doll houses for Christmas, wears Peter Pan collars, and is discouraged from entering into contact sports. He has taken ballet dancing since he was in the first grade and has put on a public performance with a girl partner. His teachers describe him as polite, co-operative, calm, and quiet.

LOW IN AGGRESSION

Stella (case 19) told six stories including themes of aggression. This was the lowest number of stories including themes of aggression of any of the forty-two cases. She has a good reputation in school as being dependable, conscientious, a good worker, not overly aggressive, but showing leadership capacity. Both she and her mother are concerned over her conflicts with her younger sister. The family is a center for the children in the neighborhood.

Isabel (case 18) told seven stories with themes of aggression. Her teachers refer to her as nervous and fearful and somewhat tense. She is characterized as immature and impulsive, not aggressive and not a leader. She is capable and has personality. Her mother describes her as nervous and domineering and says that at home she nags and teases for something until she gets it. Her relations with her older sister are good.

The two boys whose stories showed an excessive number of themes of aggression are both passive and inhibited. The two girls with few themes of aggression are extroverts, and while not hostilely aggressive they are able to use their energy in outgoing social relations and in doing good school work. The boys who are inhibited in expressing their aggression in behavior have strong aggressive fantasies. The girls who have outlets for their aggression produce few aggressive themes in their stories.

HIGH IN FAMILY THEMES

Ada (case 15) told thirty-six stories with family themes. This girl is an only child, very much overprotected, nervous, excitable, and unstable. She had infantile paralysis when twelve, which was three years ago. She reads a great deal and likes mystery stories. She tends to have crushes on other children, but they are not of long duration.

Margaret (case 24) told thirty-four stories with family themes. She

is an only child, charming, pleasant, popular, having a ready smile, and is called the "class clown." She is boyish, fond of athletics, and identifies with her father, who used to be a circus clown. The worker found her pleasant and outgoing.

LOW IN FAMILY THEMES

Richard (case 38) told six stories with reference to family. This boy's parents are separated, and he feels strong rivalry with a stepfather. He makes dates with girls and writes passionate poetry. He is dominated by an older brother.

Edith (case 17) told six stories with reference to family. She is the oldest of four girls, popular with boys, and is said to be "boy crazy." She is a leader, an organizer, efficient, popular with other pupils and receives high praise from her teachers.

Probably it is more than a coincidence that in each case that included frequent references to family the subject was an only child and could fulfill wishes for family relationships only in fantasy. On the other hand, the two who referred seldom to family were very much involved in family matters themselves and had active heterosexual interests. Since they lived out their family interests in reality, they had little need to include them in their fantasies.

HIGH IN EROTIC THEMES

Jimmy (case 37) told twenty stories having erotic themes. This boy is spoken of as a splendid boy, popular with other children and liked by teachers and pupils. His family relationships are excellent. He does satisfactory work at school. He is described as one of the best adjusted pupils.

LOW IN EROTIC THEMES

Seymour (case 36) told no stories with erotic content. He is described as lazy, indifferent, and phlegmatic. His teachers say that he does not study. The examiner found him resistant, nonco-operative, and disinterested.

To generalize from these two cases, adolescents who tell stories having high erotic content display excellent social relations and are free and outgoing. Those having low erotic content have poor social relations.

HIGH IN THEMES OF DEPRESSION

Lois (case 26) told twenty-four stories including themes of depression. She is described as smiling and pretty and as having an outstanding personality; liked by everyone. She is home room president of her class and popular, and her nickname is "Sunshine."

HIGH IN THEMES OF SUCCESS AND AMBITION

Julian (case 32) told twenty-three stories having themes of success and ambition. This boy has a happy home life. His parents are generous and lenient. He is the youngest of three brothers. He is characterized as dependable and ambitious, and he does good school work. He likes to putter about the kitchen and cook, and he spends all his spare time at home. He is tense and active, and his mother is insistent in expressing her wishes to him. The significance of the fantasies is not too clear in this case. Actually Julian is ambitious to be successful in school. However, his ambition seems to be an identification with his father and in part a method of resisting the domination of his mother.

HIGH IN THEMES OF REFORM AND REPENTANCE

Jerome (case 7) told thirty-five stories having the theme of reform or repentance. There were no punishment themes in his stories. This boy is characterized as being a bully, a tyrant, and tough. He is a problem in school and has been cited for disorderly behavior. He is rebellious toward his stepmother and has run away from home. His principal reports an occurrence of sex exhibitionism.

It seems clear that in this boy's case there is a conflict between his resistance to authority and his guilt for these impulses and a tendency to defend himself against his guilt by fantasies of reform and repentance. It is significant that he does not control his feeling of guilt by punishment fantasies. This boy's stories indicate strong superego conflict, however, the fantasies of repentance and reform do not show in the control of behavior.

HIGH IN THEMES OF ACCIDENT AND INJURY

Wallace (case 1) told twenty-three stories having themes of accident and injury. Twenty-eight of his stories have themes of excite-

ment. This boy has been spoiled and overprotected by his mother, who rejects him in favor of his younger brother. In school he is irrepresible, cocky, and self-assured. He is impressed by his own importance and tends to be impudent and a smart aleck. His teachers report him sneaky and a troublemaker, and it is evident that he is not obliged to work at home.

It is of interest that a boy who impresses the observer as being so self-assured and cocky should have included many themes of accident and injury. It would seem as though his personality is a reaction against his fears of inadequacy.

HIGH IN THEMES OF ESCAPE

Ralph (case 2) told twenty-three stories including themes of escape. Twenty-nine of his stories had themes of excitement. An only child, he lives with a divorced mother, who works during the day and takes evening courses. She is a very strict disciplinarian and exacts obedience. He is characterized as meek, mild, hesitant, and lethargic. At one time he actually ran away, and the incident received newspaper publicity because his mother left him in jail overnight. His stories have many themes of running away, but in them he always returns home.

These themes of escape may be seen to be related to the strictness and severity with which his life is regulated. It is of interest that on one occasion the fantasies were actually acted out in reality.

In the cases which have been described above, the relationship between the exaggerated themes and the personality seems clear, but in the case of a number of themes, notably economics, punishment, reform, and concealment, the connection between the exaggeration of the theme and the personality of the child is not obvious. In the latter cases the theme undoubtedly had deeper significance, partly of a symbolic nature and partly because it had been carried over from infantile fantasy. It was possible to see connections between them and certain aspects of the child's behavior and personality, but the relationship was not as clear-cut, obvious, and all-inclusive as in the illustrations given.

It is possible to generalize from these illustrations as follows: There are many possible ways of handling conflicts, but they seem to be

mutually exclusive, so that if an individual controls a conflict in one way, he does not find it necessary to use another method. If he works out a conflict in reality or by developing a symptom, the conflict will show itself in behavior and in character, but not in fantasy. If a person inhibits the outward expression of a conflict in actual performance, then he may attempt to work out his conflicts in fantasy, either more or less openly or disguised. In cases in which fantasy is resorted to, the personality which is developed may take on exactly the opposite character as a reaction formation against the expression of the trend which is expressed in fantasy.

If this generalization is true, it would indicate that projective materials have important but limited significance in personality diagnosis. A theme in story material represents the working through of a conflict on the fantasy level. But this theme is not fully represented on the behavior level and there will be no signs or only scattered signs of it in personality or character. If it is being worked through by means of symptoms, then the conflict will exhibit itself in behavior, but there will be no trace of it in fantasy. Naturally, this exclusiveness is never perfect, and there will in many cases be a breaking-through from fantasy to behavior. The boy who had injected high ambition into his stories was also ambitious to succeed in school. The boy who included escape in many of his stories actually did run away on one occasion in real life, but in the large number of cases the fantasy material shows the opposite trend to that found in personality and character.

This conclusion also defeats the purposes of those who would like to use projective methods to investigate some particular personality trend. Investigators who have used the picture-story method to study children having some special handicap have found that the stories contain no reference whatever to the particular handicap or behavioral trend in which the investigator is interested. The above analysis provides a possible explanation for this, since if a child has faced his problem in reality, there is no need to continue to seek a solution for it in fantasy. Recently investigators have attempted to devise projective material which simulates the situation in which the child is frightened or feels guilty or which arouses certain reactions. This practically forces a child to respond in fantasy to the situations. However, it is possible that this fantasy response may differ from the con-

scious attitudes of the child in similar situations that he may face in real life. Nevertheless, this study indicates that the projective method is important in that it reveals the deeper levels of personality and enables the investigator to relate these to the expressed personality, thereby making a more complete picture of the nature of the conflict and how it is being managed by the individual than would be possible by studying the behavior alone.

VII. COMPARISON OF FANTASY AND CHARACTER

ONE OF THE MAIN PURPOSES of this study was to enable one to say exactly what story material indicates with regard to the character of a person. This is the crux of the projective method. If the fantasy productions of an individual portray no recognizable likeness of him, then they have limited value; if they indicate features of his personality, then it is important to know on what level. Do the fantasy productions coincide with observable trends in a person in his ordinary and everyday behavior? Or do they point to impulses, wishes, and personality trends which are denied expression in outer behavior and character and can only leak out into bizarre and useless forms of expression? If fantasy products do coincide with observable character, when do they do so and in what respects? If they point to the submerged portions of personality, what significance do they have in understanding a person's adjustment? It was in order to answer some of these questions that not only were stories secured from each of the forty adolescents but also as much as possible about their behavior and personality from them and from their parents and teachers.

Methods of Comparing Stories with Life Material

In order to make this comparison, at least in its exploratory stages, it was necessary for one person to read all the life-history material and also all the story material for each case and to note whatever correspondence he could while the two sets of material remained fresh in his mind. This was done independently by Mrs. Chamoulaud and by the writer. Mrs. Chamoulaud experimented with various ways of keying the material, but in the end was forced to depend largely upon memory and insight. More systematic methods could be used if one wished to note the correspondence between specified items. But in this exploratory study we both approached the data with minds open, eager to note any correspondence which would come to our attention.

My method was to first read the life material, attempting to form as clear a picture of the boy or the girl as possible. Then the stories were read, and notes were kept of anything in the stories which corresponded with (or was contrary to) the life material.

Ability to comprehend the significance of the stories is not a matter of obvious comparison. A second reading of the stories often revealed correspondences (or opposites) which did not appear on the first reading. Gradually the stories would form a pattern, or *Gestalt*. The obvious meaning of the stories would disappear, and each story would contribute to a picture of the boy or girl who wrote it—a dynamic picture of motives, strivings, anxieties, and identifications. As a result of this experience I am more than ever convinced that the value of a projective technique is lost by any attempt to analyze or score it psychometrically—its value resides in the degree to which the interpreter is able to build up from the trends and the themes in the stories a dynamically integrated picture of the individual being studied.

When the reading of the material for one case was completed, one-page descriptions of the boy or the girl were written from both the real and the fantasy points of view, and correspondences (or discrepancies) were noted. Since in this phase of the work there was no counting or tabulating, no precise comparison between the two workers could be made. As is to be expected, there was considerable agreement, but on the other hand there were differences in interpretation and emphasis. Sometimes these differences were primarily in the emphasis given to the description of the life material; sometimes to the fantasy material. There were also differences in symbolic interpretations of the fantasy material. Mrs. Chamoulaud's symbolic interpretations were often mere analogical resemblances between elements in the stories and factors in the life material, following the practice in the Horney-Fromm schools of psychoanalysis. On the other hand, I saw various displacements and projections by which the stories would contain in disguised form attitudes which the storyteller holds toward parents and siblings in the present as well as those which were formed toward these persons in the past.

In addition, interpretations made by the same individual will differ when made at two different times. For instance, at one time I saw Jack's¹ problems as hostility toward school, repentance, daydreams of

¹ Jack is case 4. For an analysis of Jack's stories, see Chapter XIV.

greatness, and working and striving toward success. But on another occasion this boy seemed to me essentially passive, wishing to be adopted into wealth and security. He shows yearning for happiness and normal home life. He feels lonesome and neglected. He evinces masochistic fantasies whose purpose is to wring love and affection through pity. These two interpretations are not contradictory, but the second is more penetrating and reaches deeper levels.

It is true that any interpretations of the kind being suggested are subjective; but the subjectivity may consist more of incompleteness rather than of inaccuracy. To be sure, one's interpretations are governed by the factors to which the experimenter is at the moment most sensitive and those which his own experience has tended to emphasize, but the differing interpretations of two individuals or of one individual on two occasions may both be right, but incomplete and partial and to that extent one-sided. Since human nature is so complex, it is extremely difficult for one person to grasp all its many-sided aspects.

Furthermore, I believe that it is utterly impossible to infer from the stories even such elementary facts as whether father and mother are living, the number, sexes, and ages of siblings, to say nothing of the personality characteristics of father or mother. Harrison² reports: "Biographical and personality information could analytically be deduced from the stories of mentally disordered patients with a fairly high degree of validity" (a validity stated in terms of an accuracy of 73.2 and 76.7 percent in the comparison of these items in the stories and in hospital records). But my experience does not lead me to feel the same confidence in being able to deduce facts in real life from the stories. In fact, it would appear to be a singularly hazardous form of speculation. For instance, Jerome (case 7) tells the following story:

Say this fellow sort of has a mean father. Drinks. Boy asks him to stop. Father always hits him. Knocks him down. On way to work father drinks and loses job. Comes home and packs and leaves without talking to boy. Boy sits and doesn't know whether to love him or to hate him. Decides not to go after father, but to stick near and see if father will return and love him. Years later father returns. Father is same. Drinks. Gets sort of a divorce. Separation. Father leaves. Sees his son has no care for him. No consideration. Boy sits and thinks he should love his father anyway.

²Harrison, Ross "Studies in the Use and Validity of the Thematic Apperception Test with Mentally Disordered Patients, III. Validation by the Method of Blind Analysis." *Character and Personality*, IX (1940), 134-138.

After all his own father. But doesn't go after his father, for then his father would drink more worrying about his son. So that sort of evens things up and makes both of them happy. (Jerome, case 7, story 22)

But in his associations he says: "Can't think of anything. Pop never drinks and never comes in that way."

If one takes the association at face value, the obvious deduction from the story (that this boy's father drinks) would have to be discarded. On the other hand, it is possible that the association is an untruthful denial and that the story really presents a truer picture. Actually the boy has a stepmother toward whom he has considerable rebellion, and he has run away from home. The story may be as much a product of his fear (and wish) that his father will become debauched and leave home as of any actual reality. It is necessary to conclude that the stories are first of all fantasy and that any correspondence between the stories and the life situation is fortuitous and undependable. The meaning of themes in the stories can only be revealed by comparing them with facts secured from direct study of the boy or the girl and actual life relationships.

The Significance of the General Character of the Stories

One of the first and most important things to do with a set of stories is to describe their general character (apart from the content). Formal features in the stories have already been found to have some diagnostic significance.³ For instance, Balken and Masserman state:

The conversion hysteric apparently can indulge in rich, slow-moving leisurely phantasies which need exhibit but little action or indecision and which are so lightly charged with projected anxiety that there are almost no direct references to the patient's own difficulties in the stories. . . . Phantasies in an anxiety state are brief; the action is most dramatic and often compulsive; alternatives of conation are most frequently sought; special expressions connoting vagueness, hesitation, and trepidation are freely used; and direct identifications of the narrator with characters in his phantasy frequently occur. . . . In obsessive-compulsive neuroses the necessity the patient feels to rationalize and elaborate the many ambivalences and uncertainties reflected in his phantasies greatly increases the average length of his productions.

* Balken and Masserman, "The Language of Phantasies of Patients with Conversion Hysteria, Anxiety State, and Obsessive-Compulsive Neuroses, *Journal of Psychology*, X (1940), 76-86.

Stories should be scanned for such general qualities as mood, length, and reality level, as well as for the general attitude of the main characters in the stories.

Following are some of the principal correspondences that have been noted between the character of the stories and the character of the individuals telling them. While some of these correspondences are based on only one or two cases, the fact that opposite qualities in stories correspond to opposite characters in the individuals and the general consistency of the correspondences give the correspondences general validity beyond that which could be expected from the small number of cases involved.

Individuals who tell realistic, well-organized, matter-of-fact stories with plausible events in realistic settings are respected and mature with leadership qualities (Stella, case 19; Celia, case 28), while those who tell bizarre, fantastic, disorganized stories containing elements of mystery tend either to be quiet, lazy, indifferent, and without initiative (Ralph, case 2; Roy, case 6; Natalie, case 21; Seymour, case 36), or to be queer, nervous, highstrung, emotionally unstable, and immature (Karl, case 11; Catherine, case 12; Ada, case 15). Stories that were exaggerated and extravagant were told by tough, irresponsible, self-assured, cocky individuals (Wallace, case 1; Edgar, case 10), while stories in which the principal character was passive, receptive, and masochistic were told by individuals who were rebellious and ambitious, having a desire to excel, but who tended to be childish, immature, tense, careless, inattentive, and worried (Raymond, case 3; Sam, case 9; Viola, case 14; Edwin, case 33; Chester, case 34). On the other hand, stories that showed strong ambition were told by individuals with poor social relations and a poor record of school work, with a history of conduct disorder in school (Jack, case 4; Jerome, case 7). Stories in a buoyant, cheerful mood were told by individuals who were characterized as immature, indifferent and shy, but were dependable and conscientious (Jessica, case 16; Stella, case 19). But stories which had depressive, pessimistic, disappointed features were told by individuals characterized as smiling, cheerful, enthusiastic, popular, and buoyant, with leadership qualities (Edith, case 17; Lois, case 26; Albert, case 40). Stories that were filled with indecision and doubt were told by an individual who was reserved, inhibited, and depressed (Olive, case 27). Those who included themes of love and

marriage in their stories were friendly and happy, having good social relations (Nancy, case 31; Fred, case 35; Jimmy, case 37), while narrators whose stories showed sex fears or inhibitions proved to be nervous, fearful, quiet, withdrawn, immature (Isabel, case 18; Natalie, case 21). On the other hand, at least three who included both sex wishes and anxieties in their stories were popular and leaders (Edith, case 17; Julian, case 32). Individuals with stories filled with violence and hostile aggression turned out to be in real-life sissies, ingratiating, inhibited, and docile (Harold, case 5; Roger, case 8; Laura, case 13). One child who related stories which bordered on the vulgar was said to be sweet, popular, and co-operative and the child of a strict father (Mabel, case 22). A girl who told stories with narcissistic wishes actually was vivacious and attractive (Dorothy, case 30). In general, those in which the Oedipus conflict was clearly in evidence possessed desirable characteristics—they were normal, happy, friendly, popular, and showed leadership (Nancy, case 31; Fred, case 35; Seymour, case 36; Jimmy, case 37).

Many contradictions showed up between Pansy's (case 29) stories and her autobiography. Although she uses no cosmetics and pays little attention to her personal appearance, her stories show that she wishes to become more attractive and to change her clothes and appearance. She does not like to read, but her stories show an interest in reading ("Took up book again. Became interested in it. Became more interested in reading books. Spent half her time reading; whenever her father went to general store asked for books. Bought her a history book—enjoyed it. Got an education by herself!"—story 40.) She wears sweaters and skirts—daydreams of feminine clothes. She is shy, but in her fantasies she meets many people. She does not go out with boys, but in her stories she has many friends. Here is the picture of an inhibited girl with many normal repressed wishes.

This summary shows certain obvious correspondences and also opposites. In general, the correspondences are best with the best-adjusted individuals. Normal, happy individuals told realistic stories free from exaggeration or distortion. They also were freer in relating stories which recognized the erotic interests of life and personal relationships. But less-well-adjusted individuals told stories which failed to correspond to their characters. In many instances the dynamics at work are clearly discernible.

In many cases the stories revealed unacceptable trends, wishes, desires, or goals; the individual's character was an armor, a protection against admitting the reality of these trends. Individuals who told hostile stories were docile and sissy; those whose stories were depressed were actually cheerful and gay. One whose stories bordered on the vulgar was sweet and demure. Those whose stories were passive and masochistic were ambitious and strove to excel, while those whose stories showed high ambition were constantly backsliding. Those whose stories were anxious were cheerful and popular. In a large number of cases it was clear that the trends which children attributed to characters in their stories had been repressed in themselves, and their characters which show opposite trends could be thought of as a kind of defensive armament against these trends. To discover the correspondence or discrepancy between stories and life character should tell something important about the structure of personality of the individual and should indicate the top level of resistance in the defensive armor to be attacked and dispelled in character analysis.⁴

Some Characteristics Revealed by the Stories⁵

To be more specific, it will be well to examine some of the things that the stories reveal.

⁴ See Wilhelm Reich, *Character Analysis*, New York, Orgone Institute Press, 1945.

⁵ Throughout this chapter there is no attempt to draw generalizations, that is general principles that must apply in every case. Rather, illustrations are provided to show characteristics of stories and how these characteristics are related to the personalities of those telling them. An attempt has been made to find illustrations that are so clear as to be obvious to the reader. Then where the real boy or girl is described correspondences or contrasts are pointed out between the fantasy material and the overt expressed personality with possible dynamic interpretations. The experimental psychologist has trained himself to think only in terms of universals. He accepts as valid only those statements that have universal application. Dynamic psychology, however, recognizes that any impulse or drive may work itself out in expression in many diverse ways—and conversely any behavior or personality manifestation may have as an antecedent any of a number of driving or impulsive tendencies. And yet the dynamic psychologist believes that when a trend has been observed once, it may occur again. The story (29) told by Julia (case 25) is given on page 149 to illustrate the equation job = affection = belonging and clothes = self-esteem. It is believed that job and clothes when they appear in other stories *may* (but not necessarily *must*) mean these same things as in this story. For some individuals they may have other symbolic meanings or no symbolic meaning, but they may have the same meaning as found in the story used as an illustration. Indeed, it is believed that to the extent that this girl is typical of adolescents the meanings found in the illustration may occur frequently when these items appear in the stories of other individuals with similar background. But there is no assumption that this is a universal generalization, that this is the exclusive meaning or that when these elements are found they *must* be so

WISHES

First of all, the stories show wishes which may or may not find expression in the individual's overt personality. These wishes are shown in the stories by what characters actually do or what they plan to do. The following story illustrates this very clearly.

Girl had nice personality; got along well with people. Other girl wasn't pretty, but had possibilities. Got together to give each other pointers. Pretty girl was trying to help other girl improve her appearance. Was always frowning (that's me); should smile. Attitude she took made her lose a lot of friends. Worked at changing the girl around. Took her advice, changed hair-style, way she dressed. Tried to have pleasant expression on her face rather than a sour look. Tells her friends she didn't think she could ever change her personality and her ways. (Pansy, case 29, story 38)

Here there is a wish to have a nice personality, to get along well with people, to be pretty, to be better dressed, to have a more pleasant facial expression, to change her personality.

Actually Pansy is described as conscientious, a hard worker, industrious, tidy, and clean. She feels inferior and wants particularly to make a better scholastic record in school. When she writes a composition, she gets her mother or older sister to look it over, and they say the phraseology sounds childish.

This particular illustration shows again the tendency to make real behavior a disguise (this time a displacement) of the fantasy (projective) behavior. The wish for intellectual achievement in this case takes the place of a wish for personal and erotic pleasingness.

The following story, told by Julia (case 25), illustrates the same tendency even more strikingly.

Mary Jane came from a poor family; goes to high school. Is bright in school. Likes to read; enjoys activities in school. Is taking academic course. Would like to go to college if family can afford it. After school in afternoons walks through country paths; sits beneath a tree, thinking of life plans. (Julia, case 25—story 28)

interpreted. Recognition of the particular nature of these dynamic interpretations will help to obviate the criticism that they are subjective and hence valueless. It is not a question of "validity" or "verification by objective experimentation." It would be impossible to demonstrate any universal meanings of elements in projective materials and there is no claim that there are such universal meanings. All that is claimed is that certain correspondences have been found in individual cases and hence there is a possibility that these correspondences may occur again.

The girl who tells this story is in real life an example of flaming youth. Sixteen years old, Julia has long red hair and wears bright clothes and flashy jewelry. Actually she is not very bright in school and does mediocre work. She is spoiled and undisciplined and has her mind on boys and dancing. But this story shows another side of her nature—a wistful, shadowy, serious wish self to which she retreats in fantasy. This is another example which shows the fantasy life and the real life representing opposite trends.

Sometimes the associations bring out the wish which is implied in the story. For instance, the following story tells the fantasy of running away.

These two fellows, James and Billy, were good friends. Billy's parents poor. Father mistreated him. Both had bikes. One day James suggested running away. Billy saw chance to get away from hollering and annoyance at home. Decide to run away on bikes in month. Bought supplies. Built bike trailer. People suspicious. But they explain it's for overnight lark. Trailer doesn't work, so they use mailbag. End of month each has \$12. One night Billy goes to Jimmy's and says: "Come on." Jimmy says to folks he's going to meeting. First stop 20 miles away in woods. All downhill. Sleep in grove. Both restless. Didn't know whether to go home. Jimmy said, "How about going home?" Billy said, "O.K." Told parents they went on an overnight hike. Boys often thereafter thought about taking such overnight hikes, but they never did again. (Sam, case 9, story 25)

In the association Sam says, "I wanted to run away. Too young to drive motorcycle, so would have to use bicycle. Story really based on own thoughts. Always thinking about it. Thought about mailbags."

Actually Sam is rather repressed, an only child, who is no disciplinary problem. His father used to hit him, but now uses little restrictions and deprivations. He reads a great deal and says he "spoiled his eyes" by reading in bed. One should note that in his fantasy he bolsters his courage by imagining a companion, and easily retreats from the episode when thoughts of being away from home become real to him. In this case dependency needs are really stronger than independence needs.

WISHES WITH RESPECT TO OTHER PEOPLE

Not only do the stories show wishes about oneself, but also wishes with respect to other persons. The following story is a clear example of a boy's wish with regard to a mother.

Boy has gone to party with mother's permission and is returning sort of late. Mother left light burning and something to eat in case he's hungry and she'd gone to bed. But somehow she couldn't sleep and was just waiting to hear door open and came down as soon as she heard him coming. Boy didn't like the idea of her waiting up. Thought he was old enough to take care of self, and he didn't see his mother's point of view. Felt she was babying and watching over him. He grew very angry and mother was deeply hurt by his actions. That's all. (Albert, case 40, story 26)

Actually this boy's mother died when he was four, and he is now living with his paternal grandparents, and an unmarried paternal aunt. Both grandparents are seriously ill and cannot tolerate noise. The household is depressing, unaffectionate, and undemonstrative, although it is said that his mother had been demonstrative and affectionate. The boy is described as now cheerful and enthusiastic. The story shows how his dependency wishes arouse guilt and how he is forced to deny them.

BEHAVIOR

Stories frequently reveal important *behavioral* characteristics. The following first story reveals the character of the boy writing it.

About two o'clock one afternoon mailman came to door of Mrs. Van Twirp. Gave her letter re \$2,000. Her son collects stamps. This letter had a Jefferson stamp. Brand new. The son took the stamp. She read the letter. Sat down at desk and wrote letter to Mr. Helf. Mr. Helf took the letter to court and tried to sue her for taking the stamp on the letter. She went to court with the stamp and album, and after attending for several days, the lawyers and the jury said "Not guilty," for the stamp was cancelled. Stamp didn't mean much, and so they, that is, Tommy, her son, gave up stamp collecting and went in for model building and fixing up model aeroplanes or things around the house and got up earning money for the movies, etc. (Roger, case 8, story 1)

One should note first the disorganized, confused, inconsistent nature of the story. Later stories by Roger show this same trend in more pronounced fashion, with fantasies of murder, violence, robberies, kidnapping, and excitement. The flightiness and instability of the boy's behavior in the story is paralleled by his behavior in real life. He is characterized as mischievous and happy-go-lucky. He will not help at home and has no persistence at things. His mother died when he

was eighteen months old, and he was overprotected by grandparents. The story reflects the emotional instability of the boy.

FEELINGS

Feelings in the story may reflect feelings in the individual in real life. Fears, guilt, or pleasures as shown in the stories may parallel these same feelings and emotions in the individual telling them. This will be illustrated by another story by Albert (case 40). His aunt says of him, "He doesn't make friends easily, but gets along well with friends he has. Critical of people. Expects them to come up to certain standards. Doesn't dance—feels uncomfortable. He doesn't go out with girls." Of himself, he says "I never go out with girls, because I'm too critical. I find people's faults too easily, perhaps when I recognize them as some of my own. I have a sort of inferiority complex because of all the kidding at my expense."

But then he tells the following story.

This boy met girl at party, and he's rather—he rather likes her. Knows her for quite a while, but never has spoken to her for more than a few minutes at a time. She acted friendly at party, and he was excited at prospect of seeing her. He feels he knows her well enough to call on her, and he goes to her house. She treats him friendly enough, but he feels she's merely being hospitable and her attitude at the party was the same. Though he likes her, he doesn't want to take advantage of her good nature by coming often, as he feels she doesn't enjoy his company, and he never bothers her again. (Albert, case 40, story 25)

There is no direct evidence that the feeling that others do not like him is the reason for his withdrawing tendencies, but there is presumptive evidence that this is true, inasmuch as this same trend appears in several of the stories. Also, in his associations he identifies himself with the boy in story: "I had somewhat the same experience, in which I felt I really wasn't in a position in which a girl cared for me, but she was a little too friendly to say anything to hurt me." His explanation that he is critical of others is a projection to hide his real self-depreciation. It is interesting that his aunt should repeat his projection as the real reason. One should note here the distinction between a projection and a projective technique. A projection is an excuse to hide the underlying tendency—a projective technique is a response that reveals the underlying tendency.

INTEREST

Stories reveal *interests* that may be quite the opposite to expressed interests in everyday life. It is a reasonable assumption that where a boy or girl is said to have lack of interest the interest is there but is repressed, whereas the stories can reveal the interest without compunction because it is projected. Albert (case 40) who is uninterested in girls tells the following story.

Crystal gazer sees in ball that the couple will soon be married. There will be great change in lives of both. Something that neither suspects now. It will be tough going for first few years, and husband will not be able to make good salary. Couple greatly affected by prophecy of seer, and although not superstitious, they cannot help but think there is some truth in it. They marry, and sure enough have a hard time making ends meet. Prophecy further verified when through no effort on man's part he is recipient of good fortune. (Albert, case 40, story 8)

ATTITUDE

Sometimes attitudes toward persons are betrayed through the stories. Attitudes toward people in the stories may be the same as in real life, but greatly intensified; sometimes the attitudes are different because the real life attitudes are reaction formations and disguises. Albert (case 40) tells the following story, which depicts his attitude toward his father, perhaps more sharply than he could describe him in real life.

Another instance of youth in slums. Boy's father a derelict; a bum. Never took care of self or son. When boy does get into minor trouble, father seems to waken to fact it's his duty to steer boy on right path. Boy, however, realizes what father is; has no respect for him; treats him with contempt. Won't listen. Instead of benefiting by this talk, provokes youth into doing exactly what his father told him not to. Failing first time, father seems to sink back into first stage and doesn't try to convert son's faults, and they drift further apart. (Albert, case 40, story 15)

In the association to this story Albert tries to retreat because of guilt for his outspokenness. "I think people never should try to correct faults of others or mistrust them unless they have full respect for people. People resent advice from people they don't respect. Makes them opposite. Must I give examples? Can't think of one."

Of his father Albert says directly to the examiner, "Don't get along well with father. He's opinionated and strong willed. Don't see him much till I go down there Saturdays" (to work at his filling station). The aunt says, "Feels his father isn't up to his standards. They never lived in same house." On one occasion father recommended that aunt purchase an automobile which turned out to be a bad buy. Albert described the situation as follows, "Car a lemon. I felt responsible. Got angry with father and picked fight with him." Note the masochistic and self-blaming tendency in the story.

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

The stories also can tell some of the underlying personal relationships and attitudes, particularly in the family. Jimmy (case 37) is one of the best-adjusted boys in the group. His relationship with father, mother, and sister seems to be excellent. He is well liked in school by both teachers and is popular with fellow students. He likes school and does satisfactory work. His good nature and genial personality have been favorably commented on. Aggression in a story, for example, story 27, to be found on page 292, is not always a sign of poor adjustment. Indeed, his fine characteristics are undoubtedly in part a reaction formation against the over-aggressiveness which the story clearly shows.

ABSENCE OF THEME

The absence of a theme may have significance, possibly indicating the repression of some problem which forces itself on a person in real life. Investigators have hoped to use the picture-story method to study the attitudes of a person toward some particular personality trend, such as stuttering or alcoholism or robbery. In such cases the experimenter is frequently disappointed that the individual makes no reference whatever to the problem with which he is concerned. For example, Richard's (case 38) parents separated when he was four years old. His mother remarried a man with whom he gets along poorly. He vacillates between father and mother, alternately living with each, and as a result his school work suffers. His stories are very low in references to family; there are only three references to mother, and two to father, far below expectation. In two stories a mother comes to son when he is in trouble; in another, the mother of a girl doesn't like the

boy who comes to see her daughter. In the two stories in which father is mentioned, he is admonishing in one case a son, in the other a daughter. In no story is the conflict which plays so prominent a role in this boy's life mentioned. Apparently the emotional problems which of necessity must be faced in actual living are not incorporated into the stories.

The absence of a theme from a set of stories may also mean quite simply that it has no dynamic or symbolic significance for an individual. Every person builds up his own stock of meanings based on experience, and if some aspect of life has not been experienced by a child, it certainly will not be incorporated in his stories. It would be unwise to place too much significance on the frequency of themes. The frequency of occurrence does not correlate significantly with adjustment. All that can be said is that if a theme occurs with high frequency it occupies a prominent place in the individual's fantasy life, and, conversely, if it occurs infrequently, it occupies an insignificant place. The precise meaning of a theme can only be divined by seeing how it is used dynamically in the stories and comparing this use with the individual's expressed personality.

CONFLICT

The stories are admirably adapted to depict conflicts of all sorts. Three stories are given to illustrate two frequently occurring types of conflict, the first two are given by Albert (case 40), whose stories have already provided many illustrations. The first is the conflict between right and wrong. This conflict is repeated time after time in the stories of many of the cases. Often the conflict within the individual is dramatized by clothing two different characters with opposite moral standards. In this story the main character wavers between strict and loose moral standards. In the end his wish, which he cannot express in reality, gains dominance. These stories show the presence of a powerful superego.

Blond fellow has come around to new neighborhood. Family always well-to-do, but circumstances forced them to move to poor neighborhood. Boy goes to neighborhood clubhouse and tries to make a few friends. Boys there always brought up tough, and most a little older than he. Their—the gang's valuation of right and wrong—they have broad standards. Didn't regard petty things as wrong. Newcomer had high moral standards. At

first shocked by others, but gradually he didn't regard them as anything bad. Soon he was doing same thing. (Albert, case 40, story 19)

The other story is an example of ambivalence—in this case of boy toward his father. The stories serve admirably as a stage on which the teller attempts to work out his conflicts. This particular story is probably almost autobiographical as far as the episode is concerned.

Boy just had fight with father. They live in factory district of town, and he's like average boy—gets into little mischief, and while father is no prize package, he's very strict and picks slightest occasion to hurt son. Although boy is well able to defend self, it would never occur to him to defend self against father. Has severe argument with father. Walks out in rage. Father says never to come back, and boy determined not to. He soon cools off; comes back. Father more or less forgot argument. This keeps up; happens over and over again. Seems as if father and son can't get along. Boy finally gets job so he can shift for self. Moves into place where he can live by self. Doesn't leave town. Still on fairly good terms with father, but don't have much to do with each other. But many times son regrets he left. Often thinks of going back, but always changes his mind after thinking it all out. (Albert, case 40, story 23)

The third story told by Fred (case 35) illustrates the conflict between the desire to be independent and to remain dependent. In this case it is focused on the desire to do well in school (to satisfy his parent's wish) and the desire for heterosexual experiences which would mean breaking away from his parents.

Young girl always believed in working hard to obtain something. All her life she's done this. Through this, people are attracted to her. But as she grows older, less people take interest to her, especially boys. She herself knows she is kind of dull, since she always strove at her studies. She can't understand why she's unattractive to men. One day so miserable, tired, and all-around disgusted she sits in chair and falls asleep. While she dreams, she hears of places always thought about, churches, wedding bells, things she would like to happen to her (in hole; can't get out). She sleeps on (stuck). (Fred, case 35, story 30)

There is a masochistic note in this story, when he speaks of the girl as being "dull," and a passive note when he is unable to find a positive way to end story (he says he is in a hole, which may refer symbolically to his real life situation) and lets the girl sleep on. Actually this sixteen-year-old boy is somewhat feminine and homosexual. He cooks

and cleans house and has nothing to do with girls. He worships girls from afar. But in school he is popular and a leader. Underneath there is the struggle between keeping his home fixation and growing up to normal heterosexual interests.

MOTIVATION

Sometimes a story will reveal motivation in clear-cut fashion. A story told by Lois (case 26) shows that the common motivation underlying disorderliness in school is to annoy teachers and more remotely to hurt or to shame parents.

Boy looks like a rowdy. Did something wrong in school. Did something to annoy teacher or students. Teacher so bothered or annoyed every day; let it pass a couple of times, finally had to give him a talking to. One day teacher took him out into hallway. Told him just how he was annoying the class—should stop it. One of these wise guys. Had a comeback for what teacher said, and became very nasty. Then taken to office. Parents called. Resulted in shame for mother. School got opinion he was not well brought up. But not parents' fault, but company he kept. (Lois, case 26, story 15)

In the case of this girl there is no record of difficulty in school—in fact, her school record is very good. So this kind of school misbehavior (which is displaced to a boy) exists in fantasy only. But the girl's hostility to a fussy, restricting mother is real, and the story shows the unconscious wish to retaliate by shaming her mother in this way.

MECHANISMS

The stories also contain copious examples of all the mechanisms. In story 25, told by Sam (case 9), previously used as an illustration, there is a clear case of denial when he stated that it never occurred to him to defend self against father. How did he happen to mention it, if it never occurred to him? Another story by Albert (case 40) will be given to illustrate his tendency to project his own self-depreciation out onto others.

Young lady just home from work and resting on front porch. She has had an especially hard day at office and is also worried because she had quarrel with boy friend. She is sitting on porch and wondering if she should call him or wait for him to call. Not so sure she likes him much now, for he showed himself to be very narrow-minded, and she's troubled very much, for she doesn't want to make mistake of giving him up and

then finding she really cares for him. She grows tired of waiting and decides she'll call him first, and he seems very glad to hear from her and tells her he didn't have nerve to call her, as he feels it was his fault. But after that she never felt same way about him. Kept finding out little things wrong with him that she never noticed before. All these little things finally caused them to break up, although both really liked each other very much. Although after awhile both regretted break, they never seemed to get together again. (Albert, case 40, story 30)

In this story Albert identifies himself with both the boy and the girl in the story. The way the girl feels is the attitude that he commonly uses to explain to himself and to others why he has poor social relations. He makes the boy in the story feel that it was his fault. Actually, he projects onto the girl the belief that she does not care for the boy, the explanation that he has already used in story 25, given on page 115.

SELF-EVALUATION

The stories show clearly how a person thinks of himself in fantasy. The individual may think of himself as mature, popular, successful, unfortunate, sophisticated, a drudge, or what have you. The following story illustrates a case in which a boy thinks of himself as young, immature, and helpless.

This girl is in a very heated discussion with someone on other end of telephone. Her little brother, who is staying at friend Johnnie's house, is bothering her to come and pick him up in the car, for he doesn't want to walk in rain. She is busy saying she has important date and he should walk home in rain. (Chester, case 34, story 6)

Actually this boy is childish and immature. Although his father is ambitious for him, he does poor work in school. His stories show himself to be passive, the innocent victim of unfortunate circumstances. He wants discipline and authority rather than independence and success. In him the conflict between being grown up and depending on home support is particularly painful. In response to his father's urging on him self-sufficiency, he imagines himself a helpless child.

FIXED BELIEFS, PARADIGMS

The stories may also help to reveal fixed beliefs and ideas. For instance, Albert (case 40) has a fixed belief that he cannot change;

that his personality is unalterable. He says, "I do feel that people always want to change their environment, but when they do, they never find what they expected to." He tells the following story.

Boy gone to country for Sunday with family. He takes little walk. Used to close, congested city tenements, and it's wonderful feeling to be in open air. He's still going to school. Rather ambitious. He stops, he's on side of hill. Daydreams about ambitions. He sees self as great success in his field and leading a very happy life with no obstacles. His whole day is surrounded by same feeling of complete happiness. But at night, on returning to city and facing reality, he forgets daydreams and goes back into old rut again. (Albert, case 40, story 24)

THE QUESTION OF IDENTIFICATION

It is commonly said that in the picture-story projective technique a person projects himself into the characters of the stories he tells by identifying himself with them. In some cases, as has already been demonstrated, the characters in the stories are exact counterparts of the individuals telling the stories; but other characters may represent less overt and more unconscious trends in the narrator. As Murray⁶ has pointed out, in every story there is a central figure, a hero around whom the story develops and, perhaps, from whose point of view it is told.

i. *The hero.* The first step in analyzing a story is to distinguish the character with whom the subject has identified himself: (1) the character in whom the story-teller was apparently most interested, whose point of view was adopted, whose feelings and motives have been most intimately portrayed. He (or she) is usually (2) the one who most resembles the subject, an individual of the same sex, of about the same age, status or role, who shares some of the subject's sentiments and aims. This character, called *hero* (whether it be male or female) is usually (3) the person (or one of the persons) depicted in the picture, and (4) the person who plays the leading role in the drama (hero in the literary sense), who appears at the beginning and is most vitally involved in the outcome.

Although most stories have but one hero (readily distinguishable by these criteria), the interpreter should be prepared to deal with certain common complications: (1) the identification of subject with character sometimes shifts during the course of the story; there is a *sequence of heroes* (first, second, third, etc.). (2) Two forces of the subject's personality may

⁶ Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*, p. 6-7.

be represented by two different characters, for example, an antisocial drive by a criminal and conscience by a law-enforcing agent. Here we would speak of an *endopsychic thema* (internal dramatic situation) with two *component heroes*. (3) The subject may tell a story that contains a story, such as one in which the hero observes or hears about events in which another character (for whom he feels some sympathy) is leadingly involved. Here we would speak of a *primary* and a *secondary* hero. Then (4), the subject may identify with a character of the opposite sex and express a part of his personality just as well in this fashion. (In a man this is commonly a sign of a high feminine component and in a woman of a high masculine component.) Finally, there may be no discernible single hero; either (5) heroism is divided among a number of equally significant, equally differentiated *partial heroes* (e.g. a group of people); or (6) the chief character (hero in the literary sense) obviously belongs to the object side of the subject-object situation; he is not a component of the story-teller's personality but an element of his environment. The subject, in other words, has not identified with the principal character to the slightest extent, but has observed him as he would a stranger or disliked person with whom he had to deal. The subject himself is not represented, or is represented by a minor character (hero in our sense).

Consequently one of the first steps in the analysis and interpretation is to see from whose point of view the story is being told, that is, to discover the hero or central figure in the story.

However, I would go a step further than Murray and say that a person identifies himself with all of the characters in a story to some extent. To put it simply one could not tell a story about another person (even as a minor character) without feeling that person's feelings (perhaps to reject them) or to think his thoughts or to possess his impulses. A boy or girl may have many identifications. Richard (case 38) tells the following story.

Very jealous girl, and she follows her boy friend into a house, and she's shocked to see him with another girl. And when she sees him next day, she throws her engagement ring at him and tells him to get out. Later she discovers it was his cousin and that she jumped to conclusion too quickly. It's bad to be jealous. (Richard, case 38, story 36)

This boy's parents have been separated since he was four, and he now lives with his mother and stepfather, although he sees his father frequently. Jealousy is a theme running throughout his stories. In this story there is no doubt but that he identifies himself with the girl.

But in a deeper sense he also identifies himself with the boy (who is having relations with a girl), and he probably also identifies himself with the girl with whom he is having relations. As we shall later see, this is a reactivation of Oedipus jealousy, now between mother and stepfather, earlier probably between mother and own father. He wants very much to have his parents together again, yet is jealous of any such possibility.

The extent to which an individual may identify is measured roughly by the number of different characters introduced into the stories and the range of mood, interests, and so forth.

As a matter of fact, some of the most important identifications may be made with seemingly minor characters in a story. A character who is brought in as an aside may have a very important identification role. Perhaps when an impulse or trend is particularly dangerous its disguise can be rendered the more impervious to detection by relegating it to a minor character. This is illustrated by story 25 told by Jack (case 4) given on page 245.

Jack's father is dead, and since his mother is unable to provide a home for him he has become a state ward and is placed in a foster home. He yearns for home and love. In addition to identifying himself with the main character, there is no doubt but that he also identifies with the woman's dead son who had "sport things and toys" given to him by his parents.

One of the most important multiple identifications is with two contrasting characters in a picture. Picture 19 presents this contrast between two boys, and picture 33 between two girls. So often in the stories elicited by these pictures there is a contrast of good and bad, and the moral conflict will appear sharply. The following story, told by Olive (case 27), shows a conflict of a different nature between hostile feelings and the tendency to repress them by disinterest and impersonalness. This conflict undoubtedly is very real in this inhibited girl.

Why would someone paint a picture like this? The older boy seems to have a grudge against something. He is looking at the younger boy with a vicious eye. The younger boy is not at all interested about the other. He seems to be listening attentively or is thinking about something very deeply. (Olive, case 27, story 19)

One should not be misled by the apparent identity of the characters in the stories. In the following story, told by Lois (case 26), a girl is talking to her father.

This girl is getting scolded by her father. Probably she was talking to a boy in front of the house. Father didn't like boy because he figured he was a roughneck or something of the sort. Girl tried to explain boy isn't too bad. Maybe father doesn't like the family he comes from and holds that against the boy. Girl gets so worked up. In taking part of boy she says that just because he holds it against the family he need not hold it against the son. Perhaps because she talks like this to her father she receives some punishment. She can't go to social affairs and has to stay in house that night. Privileges taken away from her. (Lois, case 26, story 31)

It would be natural to assume that Lois identifies herself with the girl in the story and that the man stands for her own father. Actually the girl identifies herself with her father, as has been made plain by previous stories in her series. So there is the equation: scolding by father = punishment = self-punishment = conscience = guilt. Notwithstanding this girl's outgoing, friendly nature, in reality there lies underneath her friendliness an unconscious feeling of guilt for her social interests and relationships. However, in her associations she projects it onto another girl as follows: "Happened to one of girl friends. Boy isn't bad. Father didn't like it; father not good. Father took away some of her privileges."

Sex lines are no barrier whatever to identification. Apparently boys can tell stories in which a girl is the hero as easily as those in which a boy is the hero—and vice versa for girls. Consequently there is no reason for having separate sets of pictures for boys and girls. Identification with the opposite sex may be the sign of a homosexual tendency. Pictures 3 and 5 are admirably adapted for determining the principal identification because they contain both male and female characters. Jack (case 4), for instance, told a story to card 5 (to be found on page 239), which is obviously told from the point of view of the girl. Jack actually does have homosexual tendencies. Although it would be natural for him to be jealous and antagonistic toward his guardian's son, the record states that with this boy he is very affectionate. They kiss each other, or rather the guardian's son kisses Jack, and he doesn't get angry when he is kissed.

But the homosexual tendency may not be important or pronounced. The cross-identification may be just an exhibition of universal bisexuality and may mean nothing more than that the disguise is made the more complete by transferring the identification to a member of the opposite sex.

On the other hand, if an individual identifies with his own sex, the indications are on the whole that there is better adjustment. Viola (case 14) told the following story in response to picture 5.

Boy and girl walking together are in high school. Most probably they are walking home from school together. Other person is same age as the other two, but is not the same type. This is a contrast in types again, this time in masculine gender. Both are good students and good athletes. The older boy is more scholarly than the younger one, who is more athletic. The girl has chosen the boy who is more enthusiastic about sports. She was interested in other boy, who is more the type who will be a bank president. She has definitely chosen the athletic boy, but not without some regret about the other boy, though she had her choice and is satisfied with it. (Viola, case 14, story 5)

Here there is obvious good feminine identification. This girl is described as being mature, sophisticated, a leader, and having much ability.

The "hero" in a set of stories representing the principal identification may also indicate the projections and hence unconscious attitudes toward the self. But these identifications may easily cross sex lines. Lois (case 26) is known to be popular and smiling; she gets along well with people. Her stories, however, are confused, discouraged, disappointed, and masochistic. She has an older sister, who is her rival, and a fussy, nagging, complaining mother, who is "sick" most of the time. She identifies with her father. Story 10 tells of a wife who nags at her husband to fix the roof, and it is clear that she identifies with the man in the story. Lois feels guilty for the hostility that she feels toward her mother and wallows in masochistic suffering, but her actual social relations are a reaction formation against these disturbing and largely unconscious feelings. So story 9 is a story of a man with whom she identifies and into whom she projects her masochistic feelings of unworthiness, suffering, guilt, and punishment. Until one recognizes how identification jumps over sex lines, it would be impossible to recognize how this story applies to the girl telling it.

Fellow did not have job. Married. Had children. Each day went looking for work. Was told no help wanted. Bills coming up. Problem of rent being due—furniture and children out on sidewalk. One day did something that he shouldn't have done. Stealing, taking something that didn't belong. Happy because he had things and he wasn't found out. Caught, sorrow. Children knew that daddy was a robber and a bad man. Wife is pointed out by other women. Children do not want to go to school. He is in jail thinking it all over. If he had waited, something would have turned up. Couldn't pay fine. Has to serve sentence. He wonders where family will go. Will ask parent to come to help him. Hit man on head that he robbed; may die. Facing charge for murder. Family haven't anything. Sees cross—watches it every night. Wears uniform; freedom gone. Everything miserable; gray uniform. City will take care of his children. Children will hear about it; will never live it down. (Lois, case 26, story 9)

Shifting identification to the opposite sex is one method by which less acceptable and more disturbing fantasies can safely be expressed; similar to the kinds of distortions found in dreams. A story told by Margaret (case 24) illustrates this shift in sex role very clearly. This girl is described as charming, popular, but somewhat boyish. Her father has high ambitions for her. She told the following story.

Woman was widow [with] only son; wanted him to be lawyer. Boy found work was going down. Didn't have heart and soul in it. Boy said he would try. Mother said getting places was like a train—had to get to top; engineer had faith in helping it along. Boy must study—would get to top. Said she wanted to be proud of him. Wanted mother to be there when he reached the peak, and they could go along together. (Margaret, case 24, story 17)

In the associations to this story Margaret said, "Father talked to her about school; wanted her to get good marks, but she couldn't. Father said getting to the top was hard; after that it was easy." In this instance the girl was able to recognize the significance of the story in her own life, but was not in the least perturbed that in the story the sexes were reversed. The strong Oedipus comes out clearly in the last sentence.

While on this subject of identification it might be well to say a word on identification in the associations. The subject seldom refers to himself in the associations, but frequently makes mention of another person whom he identifies with a character in the story. In this sense too the persons in real life mentioned in the associations may be

projections just as much as the characters in the stories. The character in the story may be the wish self of the subject; but the character in the association may be the person in the real world with whom the character in the story corresponds and on whom he projects his fantasy. So the boy or girl telling the story may admire and identify with some neighbor or classmate in fantasy but at the same time he may be quite different from him in reality. This is illustrated by a story Jerome (case 7) told in response to picture 15, about the "king of the kids," who is a bully and beats up another boy.

His association to this story is: "Philip—older than most—big guy—in wood shop comes behind you—slaps you. Mr. C— (principal of the school) doesn't say anything. We just don't take it any more. Hit him back."

It is obvious that he identifies himself with both characters in the story. But whereas he names Philip as the "bully" in his associations, actually Jerome (case 7) is called a bully and tyrant by the other boys in the school, so that his association is in reality a projection of himself onto Philip, with whom he unconsciously identifies.

DISPLACEMENT

Not only are there shifts in identification but also characters in the story may represent displacements, always from persons with whom one has close relationship to others more distant. Feelings and attitude may be displaced from a parent to a sibling; from a parent to a grandparent or an aunt or an uncle; from a sibling to a cousin; from a sibling to a classmate or a friend or even a stranger. Lois (case 26), who has a difficult mother and a jealous sister, tells the following story about her relations with a classmate.

Girl busy with homework. Phone rings. Excited person she had not heard from for a long time. Long distance. Maybe bring sorrow or happiness. Someone get well. Maybe calling up asking about homework. She knows all the answers of anything being asked. She doesn't mind giving these answers or answering these questions. Very smart—girls take advantage of her. They don't associate with her in class, but do not hesitate to call her. She gives answers because she thinks they want to be friendly. Actually all they want is to get answers so as to get by in class. (Lois, case 26, story 6)

There is no evidence that she actually has this kind of relation with any classmate. In her associations Lois says, "Girl in class like that.

Everyone in class took advantage of her. I do my own work. I learned my lesson earlier, for I got things wrong when I got things from another girl. My mother protects me while I do my homework." So she disassociates herself from either the giving or the receiving, although she has fantasied herself in both roles. Actually, her attitude could represent her feeling of superiority over her sister and her need to ingratiate others, possibly her sister or mother, so as to avoid their hostility.

DISGUISES

A foregoing section shows how the shifting of sexes in identification can serve as a disguise. There are a number of devices used for disguising the real implications of the story. Some of these disguises may be in the story itself, some in the mode and manner of telling it. Viola (case 14), described on page 126, uses side remarks, philosophical ruminations, and sophistication in her stories to hide her own deep feelings. She is struggling with a strong superego and the problems of right and wrong. She suffers because of this, is masochistic, and in her imagination endures punishment and extinction.

This is story of a boy who got off on wrong path. Parents don't take great interest in him. Not being of wealthy background, he didn't have those advantages. Only one person interested in him is man in picture, who troubles to admonish him if he gets into difficulty. Boy has drawn within himself; pretends to be tough; doesn't care, he says, if he does wrong. Underneath he really cares. Boy is indifferent to man's attention. Keeps getting into trouble. Went to fruit stand, grabbed some oranges, and ran. Boy started to run. Storekeeper ran after him. Boy frightened for once. Ran in front of a truck, which he didn't see. Was killed by truck. Though he had never become good, he shook off the cover that hid his real self. Old man was sorry to see boy gone, but realized he would never have been able to do anything with him. By his death number of boys led astray was decreased by one. (Viola, case 14, story 15)

In her associations to this story Viola says, "Concealed himself behind a wall of indifference. Many do it. They don't realize there is nothing to be gained that way. Many criminals would be found to be human if wall was broken down. They cared at one time, but because of indifference or ignorance on part of others they cover selves with steel as a means of protection. Everyone does it, especially younger people—they are more sensitive." In these comments she

shows remarkable insight into the adolescent's problems. Actually, Viola uses just these methods of hiding her feelings in real life. The worker says of her,

She thinks most of the children [in school] are a little in awe of her, since she speaks more seriously than they do and is more intelligent. She describes herself as a serious person, who, while she is happy, does not effervesce. She cannot giggle and talk baby talk the way the other girls do or become excited over nothing and spout numerous superlatives. . . . She thinks and feels more deeply than most girls her age. She feels more deeply, but shows less of her feelings on the surface. There is no one in her class who has these qualities, so she is pretty much alone.

Her teachers speak very well of her. "Grand girl—excellent student. She is in the operetta and is doing a dance with some zest—very enthusiastic. When she first came to this school she talked a great deal in class. She is homeroom president and is in charge of the class when the teacher is not here."

Laura (case 13) disguises her heterosexual interests in story 5 by making it appear that she is mainly interested in reporting for a newspaper. But the disguise is very transparent, and the interest of the girl in the boys is clearly revealed. Actually, this thirteen-year-old girl is highly inhibited and is described as quiet, openly polite, docile, and obedient. So the wish, so thinly disguised in this story, is one which does not receive expression in actual life.

As the school was in session one day, Elsie, on newspaper, went to Frank, her assistant. She wanted him to cover the football game for the paper. Frank left for the game. Elsie was to meet him. She is going to the game with her other assistant. She forgot that she had another appointment with a third person, and didn't keep it. Later that evening the boy called her and asked why she didn't keep the appointment. They quarreled. Next day in school Elsie passed Tom (the broken appointment) in hall. He was going to stop her, but because she was going on to her assignment he didn't. After school, when she was going home with Frank, she passed Tom, and they were both wondering when they could keep their appointment for another game. He was to play in a football game, and he wanted her to have the scoop on his game, and Frank wanted her to have the scoop on *his* game. Tom was angry because Elsie wouldn't go with him. He wanted them to make up. Elsie was annoyed because of the scoop on the game; Tom called her again and asked her to a game. She decided to be fair and to go to Tom's games and get a scoop. Frank was peeved because

she didn't go to his game. Elsie told Frank to take her third assistant to his game, and in that way they got both stories in the paper. (Laura, case 13, story 5)

SUPEREGO

One cannot read these stories without being impressed with the tremendous concern these adolescents have with moral issues. A large proportion of the stories deal with questions of right and wrong. Frequently the good and the bad will be personified by two characters, and the struggle and conflict between them as to which will prevail is depicted. Punishment for wrongdoing has high frequency among the themes. Whatever one may believe about the outer allegiance of adolescents to the moral and social codes, there is no doubt but that much of their fantasy life revolves around moral concerns. In one story the superego appears in person as a shadowy female (mother) figure.

Well, this hobo, Andy, appeared in New York breadline. Decided to get money. Tried petty robbery. Netted a little money. Hardly enough. One day heard men talking about safe in office. Disguised as table with clock, lamp, and ash tray. Dial below ash tray. Andy went to office building. Picked ash tray up. Suddenly shadow of woman across room. Said, "Don't do that. You'll be caught and jailed." Saw fire escape. Decided to lock door. Touched door and alarm rang. Andy ran down fire escape. Shadow had disappeared. He was in a daze. He often wondered who had decided to protect him from that burglar alarm. (Jerome, case 7, story 26)

The boy telling this story has strict parents, the mother giving the orders, the father making certain that they are carried out. He is lazy and careless, calm but tense, with a tendency to daydream. His stories are highly masochistic, and in them he places himself constantly in a feminine role. There are themes of running away from home and also of home dependency. The conflict between good and bad appears in many of the stories.

In so many of the stories the hero pursues a course of action, then at the end suddenly reforms, gives up, backs out, decides what he has been doing is silly, and the like. This probably represents the basic drive-superego conflict. The main thread of the story represents the unfettered fantasy acting out of basic drives. But as the end approaches and the subject comes out to reality again, he feels guilty

about his escapades and decides they have been silly after all. Stella (case 19) tells one simple story illustrating this.

The girl is putting on a show. She is walking with the football hero, and her real boy friend comes walking past. She goes on walking with the football hero, just for the sake of doing it. The other boy goes out with another girl. They meet and make up at a dance, when the girl decides if she doesn't enjoy going with the hero it is silly to keep going with him. (Stella, case 19, story 5)

Walking with the football hero is her fantasy wish. She returns to her real boy friend when it appears "silly to keep going with the other."

REPPRESSED AGGRESSION

As a result of the superego, tendencies toward aggression may be repressed and turned inward. Olive (case 27) is a girl of Welsh descent living with a large family—father, stepmother, two own sisters, and three stepsisters. No doubt she feels jealousy and hostility toward these family members, but these feelings are repressed and turned inward. In school she is reported to be a sorehead, resenting criticism, a disrupting influence, reticent, afraid, not outgoing. She is painfully reserved. Her stories, told with difficulty, were depressed, masochistic, and submissive to an extreme degree. This girl represents the depression that is a result of repressed hostility.

Young boy is leaving the school building, with an attitude that he is going to hit someone. His grudge seems to be very deep. Probably someone that said something, and he, being in a high position, had been highly insulted and therefore his standards were lowered. But he is thinking if he hits anyone it will mar his high standards and that he will be worse off than by just letting it go. (Olive, case 27, story 23)

GUILT AND THE NEED FOR PUNISHMENT

Guilt and the need for punishment comes out with remarkable clarity in the stories. Story 11 told by Jack (case 4), given on page 241, reflects the guilt that comes from repressed hostility.

The feelings of remorse, repentance, absolution, and reform are all clearly portrayed. Jack is a bully, tough and disorderly in school. He comes as close to being a delinquent as any of the other forty cases.

But his stories contain numerous instances of repentance and reform, of which this story is an example.

Another example is noteworthy because it personalizes the punishing and the wish self in two different characters. If anything were needed to supply realistic illustrations of Freud's theories of the structure of personality, it might be found in these stories, in which two or more characters play the roles of different aspects of the self.

Two fellows coming into age where they become big shots. Both have been pals and now are in the same homeroom in junior high. One notices other is changing. First shock comes when companion takes out cigarette and lights it, like veteran. Fellow, other one, good all his life. Considers this sort of crime. It's disappointment, for he never thought this would happen to best friend. Then decides to take matters into own hands. Tim knocks cigarette out of fellow's hand and then with wallop right comes through with haymaker. Fellow who wielded punch stands over victim crying, "next time I see you with cigarette in mouth I'll let you have it again." His companion lying at feet in daze, but manages to mutter a "Yes sir." He is helped to feet, and two walk down street in silence. (Fred, case 35, story 19)

Fred smokes sometimes (not much) with fellows. Fred's parents and sister work, and he must clean the house before they come home. He is on very good relations with his father, who is strict with him, and he is affectionate with his mother. He is well liked in school, something of a leader, but avoids girls. His stories show strong, but repressed, sex desires and irritation at his father's strictness and a desire to achieve independence. The story given above is testimony to the strength of his superego.

Roger (case 8) tells a story in which guilt for sibling rivalry is strongly expressed. Here is a story of neurotic (fantasy) crime and neurotic punishment, with rapid alternation between the strength of the wish and the strength of the punishing tendencies.

At 7 P.M. John having target practice with revolver (new). His baby brother came in. Ran in front of gun as he pulled trigger. Shot. Called police and ambulance. Parents absent. Boy hysterical because he shot brother. He's a fairly good shot, too. Father at home took gun away. In father's custody till 21—no, for rest of life. At 21 he turned a criminal and shot people in cold blooded murder. After while turns self in, for con-

science got best of him. Knew that crime didn't pay. (Roger, case 8, story 27)

In real life Roger (described on page 114), has a stepbrother three years old, and the feelings depicted in the story could well apply to his own life situation. However, he is unable to recognize this possibility in his associations, for all that he can say is, "Crime doesn't pay comes at the end of Gang Busters."

Guilt may also be appeased by attempts at reparation, and a story by Edith (case 17) illustrates this.

Girl brought other one startling news which she can't believe. Member of family (mother or father) died or was killed. Naturally it upset her very much. Because of this she doesn't stay where she is, but goes back home to other members of family who need her. (Edith, case 17, story 38)

This intelligent girl's stories are short. She is one of the best-adjusted girls in the group. She is a leader and an organizer, well-poised, co-operative, efficient, popular with other pupils, and nonaggressive. She wants to be a musical comedy actress and is popular with the boys. But her stories show great anxiety and depression. She feels anxious and guilty over sex wishes. There are themes of hostility to the woman who disapproves of sex and concern over rivals, with a need to be popular. This story shows the depth of her hostility and her method of meeting it by returning to her family. This tendency may help to explain her fine social relations in real life.

MASOCHISM

The general tendency to punish the self may lead to a masochistic character. Several of the sets of stories were strongly masochistic. Both boys and girls tended to humble themselves, to be submissive and accepting of fate, nonresistant and self-depreciating. Sam (case 9) is masochistic throughout his stories, of which story 37 is a good example.

Well, this young girl, Jimmie as she is called (real name Janet), taken ill in small town. Doctor couldn't diagnose. Taken to big town. Going blind through no forethought of anybody. Doctor helpless. Jimmie senses this. Brave, but often broke down. Finally blind. People in town decide to take tax money and send Jimmie to New York to great specialist. Jimmie at station. Prays and hopes for best. Conductor on train takes care of her. In New York a young fellow from home town takes her to doctor. Exami-

nation. A costly operation. Townspeople offer to send money. Jimmie pleads she's not worth it, to break town treasury. Successful operation. Jimmie surprises home folks in surprise visit. What celebrations when they recognized her. Jimmie's grandparents founded city. Oh, when she went to house mother so dismayed she couldn't talk. Father quiet 'til he saw her. Gave out whoop. Big party in town. Between sobs at party, she tried to thank people. City people feel well paid for cost. (Sam, case 9, story 37)

Here the helplessness, the humility (Jimmie pleads she is not worth it) and self-mutilation so well described by Menninger⁷ are clearly in evidence. One should note also the eventual cure and celebrations in her honor, illustrating the point brought out by Reik⁸ that the masochist is not fundamentally interested in the self-immolation for its own sake, but for a greater reward expected after the trials have been passed through.

The following story illustrates what is commonly known as masochistic pleasure. Evidently this boy gloated over the misery which he projected—the same morbid fascination which sends people to visit dungeons, torture chambers, and prison ships.

Harry Keep convicted of 2d degree murder. Life imprisonment. Solitary confinement. (Brutal!) [Laugh.] Just outside window he could hear chiming of bells and chorus of church. Always made him blue (ha! ha!). Always made him sorry for what he had done. So that now when bells ring and chorus sings, he sits in his corner and thinks of what he has done. The end. (Raymond, case 3, story 9)

Raymond, who tells many masochistic stories, is in real life ambitious and continually striving for top place. He is independent and resourceful, but also compulsive.

Nancy (case 31) tells stories which are typical of feminine masochism. Story 30, for instance, shows clearly the passivity, waiting attitude, and submissiveness with the corresponding emotions of longing and disappointment. It is interesting that she could not keep up her own dismal picture until the end, but had to give herself relief, but without a clear-cut shift in emotion.

Betty in room dressing for a date. Started extra early because it was a special date with someone special. When she was finished she walked down-

⁷ K. A. Menninger, *Man against Himself*, New York, Harcourt Brace and Company, 1938.

⁸ Th. Reik, *Masochism and Modern Man*, New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1941.

stairs nonchalantly. Clock tolled 8. Date should be there at any moment. Did not come. Thought he was delayed. Began to read. She had to do something, or she would bust with anxiety. 8:20, 9 o'clock passed. Wondering where he was; what he could be doing. Had planned this for so long, wondered if he would disappoint her. Was miserable. Just as she was about to give up and go to bed, in walked her date. Didn't know whether to be angry or happy. His excuse was legitimate, and she had a good time after all. (Nancy, case 31, story 30)

Nancy is well adjusted—happy, normal, with a good disposition and gets along well with family and friends, with whom she is aggressive and critical. Her stories, however, are most masochistic. She wants to be wanted. She daydreams about intimate relations, but doubts whether she is lovable. There is both the wish for and fear of sex. Her fantasies have led her to establish good social relations and a pleasing personality; somewhat aggressive in real life.

That masochism in boys is based in part on feminine identification has long been recognized. Sam (case 9) tells one story which brings this out surprisingly well.

Two young brothers, Jake 20, Sam 16. Father, Gloucester fisherman, had died and left boat to sons. Jake had palled around with fellows who weren't right. Wanted to use boat for smuggling. Sam wanted to use for fish. Argument. Sam to use boat days; Jake nights. Sam fished. Kept getting profits. Sam thought it queer that Jake had so much money. Asked Jake. Jake sore. Mind own business. Police discovers smuggling of narcotics. Sam suspected Jake and put it to him. Jake admitted it. Sam said he'd take boat away. Jake decided to go straight; to help police trap other smugglers, all through help of Sam. Jake in prison for while. Sam got boat.

(That could be taken as woman. Did anyone think of that?) (Sam, case 9, story 19)

The after comment (which frequently is highly significant psychologically) shows the ease with which this boy can identify a masochistic with a feminine character. Note also the conflict between good and evil and the eventual punishment of the evil.

Sam also shows how masochism can be a response to the anxiety aroused by aggression. Only in this case the aggression is projected outward in a belief that others are jealous of his studiousness. In this case the hostility is overcome by reparation—the "heaping coals of fire" technique.

Elizabeth was young girl. She was rather studious. It was the ambition of all girls in her grade to get her marks; be as smart. But most girls ignored Betty. Jealous. Betty lonely. Wanted friends to like her. Wondered what to do. There was a girl who wasn't smart. Private school. Her folks weren't rich, and just had to pass. Girl, Louise, is helped by Betty. Louise was one of Betty's worst enemies. On exam Louise got 80. Went to Betty. Said she was sorry. Gave party. Told girls. When they found Betty had done something good for one of them, they all liked her. She had friends and wasn't ever unhappy. (Sam, case 9, story 28)

OEDIPUS COMPLEX

The Oedipus complex is expressed with unmistakable clarity in these stories. One illustration has already been given on page 127. As a general rule adolescents who indicate Oepidus wishes in their stories are making good adjustment in school.

The story by Nancy (case 31) given on page 156 illustrates the Oedipus situation so clearly and openly that it needs no further comment.

Story 23 told by Jimmy (case 37), given on page 290, is a classic illustration of the Oedipus complex.

There are two things to be noted in this story illustrating the Oedipus complex. The parent figures are neither father nor mother. The father figure is a farmer for whom the boy works. The mother figure is not even the farmer's wife, but his sister. By thus displacing the relationship Jimmy is able to disguise and remove the immediate implications of his feelings. In general, any dominating male figure in a story—farmer, boss, rich man, gangster, policeman—should be looked upon as a representation of the father and a substitute and symbolic figure of him. Likewise, any feminine figure may be a symbolic substitute for the mother. And the Oedipus relationship may be seen in the relation of the boy hero and an older father figure in many of the stories. The other point to note is the guilt which these Oedipus fantasies (even when disguised) arouse. The boy was hung on the tree in front of the great house he should have owned. But even though he killed his father in fantasy, in death the father still separates him from his mother. One should remember that Jimmy is one of the best-adjusted adolescents in the study and that his school relations are excellent.

The guilt and self-punishment which attends the Oedipus strivings

is also clearly illustrated in story 25 told by Jimmy (to be found on page 291).

With regard to the Oedipus situation a person looks forward as well as backward, and in reality it is the Oedipus which sets the stage for marriage, and the nature of the marriage relationship is conditioned by the nature of the early infantile Oedipus situation. Story 37, told by Nancy (case 31), illustrates this excellently.

Jo was girl of 17—parents dead. Now on her way to uncle's home in California. Sat at station and waited impatiently for the train. Wasn't sure if she was happy, scared, or anxious. Had met uncle only once; he was nice. Wondered if aunt and cousins would accept her. Finally got on train; found her seat. After day of riding, she arrived at her destination. Uncle and family waiting for her. She was greeted warmly; very happy; decided there and then she would like new home. (Nancy, case 31, story 37)

CASTRATION

Castration themes run clearly through the stories. The following three stories were told by Edgar (case 10)

This house located near woods. Two people who lived there not scared to live near woods. A cousin coming to visit. Next day, papers said maniac who had killed 5 was loose in woods. One day this kid took a short cut through the woods. Maniac chopped his head off and threw it at woman. She went screaming to police. Police couldn't find anyone. Storm broke roof. Carpenter fixed. Put ladder up. Left it there for next day. At dark cops are going through the woods. All kinds of guns and tear gas. Out to shoot to kill. Cops hear noise. Saw man running through bushes. Chase the maniac. He sees ladder. Climbs. Sees open window and light. Jumps through window. After rain muddy. Cops see tracks on ladder and sill. Think he's in room. Slowly they open door. Search. He's in right-hand corner of front of house. Knock on door. Break it in. There's maniac. They shoot him. He grabs ladder and is killed. That is case of house by woods. (Edgar, case 10, story 10)

Story of girl. She had vacation. Last day of school. As she walked home past woods, snake bit her on leg. Screamed. All came. Saw only scratch. So she went home thinking to self, "It was snake, but no one believes it." That night poison set in. Wakes next morning with leg all swollen out. Doctor came. Too late. Poison in heart. Just as she is about to die, she wakes up and says, "Oh, it was only a dream. I'll never walk by that woods

again. There might be snakes who might bite, and I might die." (Edgar, case 10, story 28)

"I said, did you go out?" "No!" He kept asking. She always said no. Finally he sent her to bed. Next day she went to school. Had physiology. Asks teacher why father had gray hair. Explains that hair loses life; hasn't nerves; gets gray. Goes home. Father asks, "What's this I hear about you asking teacher about hair? Well, I just don't want you to be making any cracks about me or my family in class." Sent to bed. It turns out her father puts on wig, looks young, and is really physiology teacher. She's always telling him things. She wonders about father. Plays hookey. Follows father to school. He goes to men's room. Teacher comes out. Pays no attention to her. Puzzled. Father not out. During 5th period in physiology and boys fight with erasers. Eraser hits teacher. Knocks off wig. He starts to be grouchy as soon as wig off. Nice when wig on. Brought him all over world because of this wonder. Nice with wig on. Grouchy with wig off. Brought to great doctor in Argentine. "Leave him with me. I'll find out." Dyed his hair. From that time on he is young and nice. That's the case of uncivilized citizen. (Edgar, case 10, story 31)

The castration implications are clearly evident to those who are accustomed to symbolic interpretation. Naturally, there is displacement to various parts of the body. This boy, coming from a low-culture family and unstable home, presents disciplinary problems to the school. He is reported as indulging in perverted sex practices. His stories show strong sex obsession and anxiety, and these stories would indicate guilt and punishment for his sex practices. However, the connection with sex and castration fear is not always implied or as clear as in these stories by Edgar.

INFANTILE TRENDS

The stories may reveal infantile trends which have not been wholly assimilated into more mature goals. The following story might be said to contain anal references in the episode of the garbage can.

This woman had a daughter, and since it is near Halloween she is making a costume for her. She is sitting home one day working on it, when she hears a queer noise. She got up, tiptoed to door, and listened. She heard a scraping noise outside; didn't know where it was. She stopped and listened and heard it again. She couldn't imagine what it was; all sorts of things ran through her mind. Might be a burglar. What would she do? She went down into cellar. She was afraid if it was a burglar he would

bop her over the head and get all the silver. Finally she got up the courage to open the door. She found garbage all over the place. She thought it couldn't be a burglar unless he had tripped over the barrel—and it was broad daylight. Running around the corner of the house, she saw two dogs trying to climb on a large can and were making the noise she had heard. So all her fright was just over a dog. (Barbara, case 20, story 2)

Barbara (case 20) is not judged to be unadjusted, but her stories are queer and unusual. She makes different impressions on different people. Her teachers call her demure, quiet, efficient, solid. But at home her mother states that she has a bad temper, is headstrong, unaffectionate, argues, and refuses to help with the housework. She is distinctly a tomboy, plays games with boys, strives to be first, and bosses the girls. Her stories are long and emotional, containing many references to money and to medicines, showing that her anal concerns are real. Her stories contain such sentences as "She told me the children had a pet fish and the cat had eaten the fish and when Danny went down to feed the fish it was dead" (story 7); "Joe gives the policeman a dirty look and passes out" (story 9); "Look as if they are in some sort of a mess that they have to get out of" (story 16); "Mr. D. 'Take this bottle of medicine over to Riverside Drive. This box of pills to Mrs. Greenberg, these magazines to Walnut Street, this Coca-Cola to the P.O.' Boy 'What? All for 15¢? Those places are all in different parts of town!'" (story 15); "Kissed mother; wished her a happy birthday and gave her a big box of candy!" (story 40). The exact significance of this anal interest is not clear, being locked up in symbolism, but there is evidently both anal erotism and anal sadism, with penis envy and castration wishes.

Urethral aggression was also displayed in isolated instances. Karl (case 11), for instance, tells the following story about setting a fire.

(Oh gosh!) Mr. Callahan here. Is giving a boy punishment. He has to pay up his budget and won't be able to see any of the shows in the auditorium. He started a fire in the boy's basement and the second floor. The boy is trying to tell Mr. Callahan that he didn't do it. (How does it turn out?) The boy sneaks in and sees the shows. (Karl, case 11, story 15)

Several of the cases showed interest in food. The cases in which this has been noted have had strong love needs, often coupled with infantile trends in personality. Karl (case 11) told the following story.

(Sweet long one!) Girl picks up receiver—says to girl: “Half a pound of string beans, ten pounds of potatoes, 1 pound of celery, 2 pounds of oranges, 2 pounds of apples. Goodbye.” Then she calls up the meat market. Butcher answers the phone, and she says: “I want a pound of pork chops, a leg of lamb, roast beef, chicken, turkey, and something that makes good stew.” Now she calls up the drug store. She says: “I want 1 quart of chocolate ice cream, \$5 worth of chocolates, 6 bottles of castor oil.” Then she hangs up, and she calls up all her friends. She says, “I am having a party at 6 o’clock tonight. Won’t you please come? It will be from 6 to 2.” Then she tells her 6 servants and 3 maids to get busy and tells them to have everything ready by the time the crowd comes. Of course she doesn’t tell her husband, because it is his birthday and he is 52 years old. She tells him to go upstairs and read for awhile and supper will be ready soon. Then the crowd comes in, and he comes downstairs, and they all surprise him. (Karl, case 11, story 6)

This boy is badly disturbed mentally and has been under psychiatric care. His teachers report him queer, “just occupies space”—a dreamer. But he is very affectionate. His stories are weird, disorganized, and exaggerated. Concern about food is prominent throughout. Of him his mother says, “K is very sloppy about his personal appearance. He has a dirty mind and has a string of vile stories, but he has never been curious.” A teacher said, “His mother tried to give him sex information, but he would titter and snicker. He has no modesty at all.”

Seymour (case 36), whose stories reveal his conflict about separation from and return to mother in story 8, tells of his intense oral cravings which follow traumatic separation experiences. When he projects himself 2,000 years into the future, he becomes hungry and seeks out a restaurant.

Two children went to magician’s house. Said that he could send them into future 2,000 years. The next thing they knew, they were surrounded by strange buildings and strange people dressed in strange clothes. Instead of autos, rocket ships. They walked around city for hours looking at strange sights. Then Jane says she’s getting very hungry. Johnny had few cents in pocket. “Let’s get to restaurant.” Went to the restaurant and all they sold there was food pills. They didn’t care for this very much. But it was better than nothing. They went out of restaurant, walked down street and saw rocket ship sign—leaving to Mars. Johnny said, “I always wanted to go to Mars.” Jane said, “Me too.” They stowed away in

tail of rocket ship. Soon they were off on trip. It took about two minutes to get to Mars. When they got out, they seen different kinds of people. Didn't look like people, but supposed to be. Jimmy says, "We'd better get back to ship. When they get there, they found ship gone. They saw a big monster come after them. Just as he was about to eat them, everything went black and they woke up in magician's house again. (Seymour, case 36, story 8)

SPECIAL FANTASIES

Certain individuals among the 40 cases illustrate various adolescent personality types, and it is possible to find stories in this series to illustrate many of the traditional adolescent figures in legend and folklore.

Prodigal son. Story 26, told by Raymond (case 3), is a modern version of the prodigal son.

John left home when he was 15 years old. Not heard from since by mother or father. Now 21. Left home saying he'd come back rich. In note. Said he had been abused by mother—parents. On Oct. 31 returned home while parents in bed. Exactly five years later. When he left he had left an apple under a certain light. Every Halloween thereafter parents left apple under same light and hoped for return. He did. But not rich. Ragged; wretched. Far older than real age. Morning. Mother found him sitting outside. Recognized him at once. Great rejoicing when father came home. (Don't know how he got out of door without seeing him.) John said he was ready to start where he had left off. (Raymond, case 3, story 26)

This story illustrates Raymond's desire for first place and his masochistic fantasies. In real life he has a younger brother with whom he competes, but he does not appear in the story.

Cinderella. Mae (case 23) may be called the Cinderella girl of the group, for she tells many variations of the Cinderella theme, of which the following is a sample.

Girl is janitress in a movie theater. One of the most expensive ones in Paris. Takes care of actor's dressing rooms. Was a pretty person. Used to gloat and laugh at her. One actor pities her. Wrote a play. In it was a poor girl who was to inherit some money and marry a prince. Asked her to play part. Others laughed and said he was making fun of her. She tried out for it and got the job. There was a contest. Young playwrights to write plays—to be picked by king. Queen and prince picked his play.

Each was given 5 million dollars and a diamond necklace. Girl married man who wrote play, and they lived happily ever after. (Mae, case 23, story 32)

The ugly sisters do not appear in this story—the good fortune is so exclusive that the competitors cannot even appear in the story. Mae is something of a Cinderella herself. Her mother died while Mae was an infant, and her stepmother was slovenly and rejecting. Now she is living with an aunt. Twelve years old, she is sentimentally inclined and is entering the land of her dreams. Two months after the menarche she is excited at being asked to a dance by a boy. She is liked by teachers and classmates as pleasant, sincere, unsophisticated, unassuming, but able to take care of herself.

Superman. Wallace (case 1) is small in stature, but irresponsible, cocky, self-assured. In school he is a general nuisance. At home he is overindulged and overprotected. His stories are extravagant and exaggerated. His cocky manner is surely an overcompensation for underlying inferiority feelings. Story 9 illustrates his superman fantasies.

State pen. Mug in there is Joe McGillicuddy. McGillicuddy—Joe the Slug. His last hour. He is going to get the electric chair. The time comes. They strap him into the electric chair. They turn the current on, and he becomes stronger. He can break straps easily. Electro Dillinger the 1st. Fighter with crime. Blows the jail up, and helps them rob everything in the government mint. Great hero in the underworld. Chief of all the gangs in the world. Then he wakes up in jail and finds he is in jail for stealing 10 gallons of gasoline off the gas station. (Wallace, case 1, story 9)

Pollyanna. Jessica (case 16) tells stories in which no matter what accidents befall everyone is happy and everything turns out for the best. She manages to place a good complexion on every incident. Story 41 is typical.

Girl is ready to go to her first party. Is happy about it. Mother has bought her a new dress for party. Sister isn't going; wishes she could go in sister's place. Before evening is over she is invited to the party, and everyone is very happy. (Jessica, case 16, story 41)

Jessica is undeveloped, childish, and immature. She is described as pleasant, with an even disposition, does whatever is asked of her, gets along well with people. The stories are obsessional and passive, and show a belief in magic. Her Pollyanna tendency is a kind of rationali-

zation which helps her to ignore her strongly repressed competitive drives.

Dead-end kid. A number of boys identify themselves with criminals and bums. Story 15, by Fred (case 35), illustrates this fantasy. In it the superego is working, and the conflict between good and bad is clearly marked near the end of the story.

Lower east side in New York. Fellow lives there—a Dead End Kid, tough guy. Father works late; when he's home, never gets chance to talk to son, man to man. One day a robbery is committed. Father knows almost by instinct son had hand in it. When he confronts boy, he says even though he is father he's going to turn him in. Tells him he'll turn him in right away. Must come with him now. Boy's eyes defy his father's words. But for first time in life when he looks at father he's half hypnotized. He never knew his father. Then he consents to go with father to be turned in. No, not consents. Yes, consents. Goes to start a new life. (Fred, case 35, story 15)

Horatio Alger. Perhaps less frequently there are stories of starting from poor beginnings and working one's way up, partly by one's own efforts, partly by the help of sympathetic strangers, and partly by luck. Jack (case 4) whose story (story 18, page 243) indicates this fantasy has already been described. Although in his daydreams he fantasies working up to an important position, in real life he is actually unsuccessful in school and lacks the stamina to carry projects through. One should notice that in this story he succeeds only in becoming "assistant supervisor." Evidently the top becomes too threatening and dangerous or too far away and chimerical.

WRECKED BY SUCCESS

A story told by Roy (case 6) illustrates the failure which is brought about by a feeling of guilt because of one's success.

When he was a little boy, his father died and left him with his mother. When he was 14, his mother died and left him alone in world. He drifted from city to city, trying to pick up odd jobs. Finally one day he got a job as office boy. He worked himself up and became president. When war came, it wiped out his entire fortune and left him in debt. When he couldn't pay, he had to go to prison. Now, when he was ready to come out, he was wondering if he could get job, for now he was in old age. When he did get out, he got job with construction company as time-

keeper. Now on small salary he could live for rest of life. (Roy, case 6, story 9)

The key for the guilt may be found in the story, too, for both parents have died (passively, as a screen for any more aggressive fantasies he may have). Actually he is the only son of strict and domineering parents. In real life Roy is timid, retiring, stolid, and without aggressive assurance. So his fear of self-assertion which comes to such a catastrophic conclusion in the story is also his pattern of adjustment in life.

CHILD FATHER OF HIS PARENTS

One story told by Raymond (case 3) illustrates nicely the fantasy to be the parent of one's own parents.

The Big City. Willie was born on little farm in West Virginia. Grew up on farm and taught fundamentals of farming. Didn't like to be farmer (this is getting bad), so he told mother he was going to city to get job. Saved money. Got on train with all belongings and went to city. When he got off train, amazed to see big buildings. Never dreamt anything could be so large. Bewildered and dazzled. Buildings, domes, aeroplane factory, stores, and all the other sights. He went straight to firm on well-known street. Met with kindness in the way of a job. Continued and promoted until he was general manager. (I'm not mentioning where; etc.) When he was making big money, he brought mother and father to live with him. Now live in large penthouse and are very happy. (Raymond, case 3, story 18)

It is interesting that in actual life Raymond is extremely ambitious and strives to be first in all his relationships. He tends to overlord not only his younger brother but also his father and his mother. There have been episodes of exhibitionism. He is very compulsive about his possessions. The stories of this boy have also been used to illustrate the "prodigal son" fantasy.

EQUATIONS—SYMBOLISM

It is obvious that many of the themes in the stories have symbolic meaning in the same sense that elements in dreams may have symbolic meaning. Themes may gain symbolic significance by association. There may be some equation or identity in feeling tone, impulse, or attitude between elements in the story and inner dynamic conditions

in the individual. In psychoanalysis an object may have symbolic significance if it stands for genital organs, sex activities, or such life processes as birth or death. Similar symbolism is undoubtedly present in the story material, but on a more immediate level there may be equations between objects or themes in the stories and present drives, impulses, or attitudes in the life of the individual. Since the stories have to pass the requirement of being acceptable to the person to whom they are told in a school, the deeper, more tabooed impulses must be drastically disguised. In dreams, bizarre elements with devious symbolic significance can be introduced, because during sleep the necessity for logical co-ordination with the world around does not exist. But stories told while awake to a stranger must preserve a logical consistency so that the individual may preserve his self-respect.

The question of universality of symbol arises in this connection as it does in dreams. The writer believes that all symbols are individual—they grow out of the individual's experiences and represent the associations or equations or identities which he has made. But merely because there is a commonness in culture and experience, it is to be expected that there will also be a commonness of association and equation. These data do not indicate the extent to which these equations and symbols are universal. They appear clearly in individual cases and are presented here merely as illustrations of the kind of equations observed in our data. Whether these equations would apply in another case would have to be determined.

Equation: First there is the equation: *love = acceptance = place in family = food = job*. The equation of food with love is well known from psychoanalytical theory and goes back to the need for love as a sign of the need for food in infancy. This equation is well illustrated by a story told by Albert (case 40).

Maid sweeping out boarding house. Startled by noise in next room. Doesn't know if it's any of her business to enter or not. Curiosity arouses her. Goes and peeks in. (Got self stuck now. Don't know what she found.) When she opens door, she finds young man inside cooking meal over gas jet. He looks up. Sees her looking through half-opened door. He drops his frying pan. Asks what she wants. She's caught in peculiar situation. Doesn't know what to say. Finally tells him no cooking is allowed. He tells her to come in. Explains he's hard up for money; can't afford to eat out. Asks her not to tell landlady. She feels sorry for him.

Gives him some change and sends him down to get some food. However, young man is suspicious and also feels he's accepting charity and refuses the money. She's attracted by him, as he's different from usual guests that come there. She is determined to find out more about him, and next day she comes to room and she finds him on bed with gas pipe, dead. He was hungry. (Albert, case 40, story 32)

This boy, who has already been described, lost his mother when he was four and now lives in the cheerless home of his maternal grandparents and maternal aunt. He wants to be wanted and to have affection, but cannot believe that others like him. The story illustrates his need for affection and love by his oral preoccupation. He can even believe that it is possible to die of hunger, the craving for love is so strong. Note also the paranoid (suspicious) trend and his pride in refusing to accept charity—that is, affection—from a stranger who does not really have a personal interest in him.

Lois (case 26), although outwardly happy and popular, tells stories with much depression, discouragement, disappointment, and confusion. She wants to be wanted, and her outwardly sunny nature is clearly her attempt to deny her own inner inadequacy and to win friends and popularity in her actual social relations. Many of her stories have the themes unemployment, seeking work, losing a job. Although at the time the stories were recorded this was a common social concern, there was nothing in this girl's immediate family to make her worry about economic security. Story 22 ties together nicely the concern about work and job and food.

The boy seems to be very poor. Probably he looked for jobs—always been refused. Probably didn't have the right education. No matter how many places he goes to, he is not educated enough; looking for experienced men. He has just come home after hard day's looking for employment. Sits here wondering what he is to do next. Thoughts of robbing enter his mind. Has not much money to get along with. Went without food for a day. (Lois, case 26, story 22)

Equation: *clothes = poverty-riches = old-young = aspects of self*. Lois' stories exhibit many of these equations. To her, clothes represent the self, and in story 41 the two aspects of herself—the acceptable-unacceptable, the self-respecting-self-recriminating—are represented by two girls, one dressed in white, the other dressed in last year's dress. This same story indicates how poverty and riches, which are

themes running not only throughout the stories of Lois but also in the stories of many of the other cases, also stands for self-respecting-self-depreciating attitudes.

Two girls are graduating from grammar school. One girl comes in with very pretty white dress. Teacher admires it and tells her she likes it very much. But there is also another girl, who is poorer—had to wear one of the dresses she wore throughout the year. Proud when she came to school, but realized that her best dress was not as pretty as some of the other girls' everyday dresses. As teacher told other girl how lovely she looked, other girl stood there and envied her. Thought of the nice things her family would have if her father had a better job. Was thinking her father might have a better job when she graduates from junior high school. She would have a dress just like that, and another girl would be envying her. (Lois, case 26, story 41)

Story 9, told by Lois, reproduced on page 127, also illustrates the equation: *poverty = deprivation, without desirable characteristics, mean.*

Olive (case 27) is concerned about age, and to her, being old is the equivalent of being rejected and unworthy, while being young is the equivalent of being popular and attractive. Story 41, told by Olive, is patent in its portrayal of the wish to be attractive, popular, and in particular to be accepted by her stepmother. Actually she is a stepchild in a large family of six girls, two being her own sisters and three her stepsisters. In this situation she is filled with envy and reacts with depression.

Mary stood behind her mother and her sister with a long face and a perplexed mind. She could not figure out why she never went any place and her younger sister who was so pretty was always invited. She thought that the boys did not care for looks, keeping in mind she wasn't pretty, but for a good sport and one who would like to do things the other person liked. She couldn't estimate herself on these two questions, but in her sister she found these very common. She was full of pep and never thinking of herself, always agreed to do the things that everyone wanted. This was a great difference between the two sisters, and she found out that if she put a little pep in herself she would probably also be invited. She could not understand why her mother would favor her younger sister and always leave her in the dark. She found this extremely so just today, when her sister Jane was going to a dance and her mother was so very proud of her and encouraged her and told her to have a very nice time. She seemed to be

so pleased with her that there seemed to be a great change in her nature from the usual and everyday routine. She always heard that her mother never favored anyone, but somehow found this to be a different day. (Olive, case 27, story 41)

Story 29, told by Julia (case 25), illustrates the following equation: *job = affection = belonging and clothes = self-esteem.*

Helen, goes to girls' school in New York. Had been asked by department store to model. Is proud of it; goes around boasting to other girls about it. Becomes very conceited, always glancing in mirror. One of her teachers sees her walking in mirror and tells her her head is getting too big for her hat. She doesn't give thought to school work; mind is on work at store. After modeling two weeks, tell her they don't need her any more. She becomes hurt. Girls laughing at her. Finally got to be her old self again. (Julia, case 25, story 29)

Julia, mentioned above on page 113, actually uses clothes to bolster her ego. She is deeply concerned over marital difficulties between her parents and feels that she is left out of her parents' affections. She identifies with her mother in wearing striking clothes. This story shows her need to become the cynosure of admiring eyes and her guilt and punishment because of this tendency. Her neglect of school work is a true description of her actual attitude toward school in favor of clothes and self-exhibition. It is interesting that she has insight that this represents an excursion from her "old self."

Equation: *being crazy = death wishes.* Being crazy comes into the stories as a theme on many occasions. It can be surmised that it is the equivalent of unacceptable impulses (perhaps masturbation) whose strength and persistence makes the subject uneasily aware of them and which he may interpret as incipient insanity. This is brought out with particular clarity in story 9, told by Seymour (case 36).

Jack was in jail for a crime he didn't commit. He went into restaurant, and then he saw the proprietor lying on the floor. He was dead. There was gun lying on floor by him. He picked it up. Just as he picked it up, a person opened the door and seen him. He jumped on Jack and knocked him out. He called police, and Jack was arrested. Jack's friend believed in Jack and tried to find real murderer. He went to restaurant. He looked place over. On the edge of counter he found little piece of cloth, probably ripped from white silk scarf. He asked around the neighborhood if

they seen a man with white scarf that was ripped. He—nobody seen a man with white scarf. He was just about to give up, when he seen man running down the alley. He ran after him and soon caught him. The man confessed to the killing. He said he had to do it, because that the proprietor of restaurant threatened to send him away to insane asylum from which he escaped. Jack was soon set free, and he was grateful for his friend helping him so much. (Seymour, case 36, story 9)

Although the man who did the killing in the story was not the hero, there is no doubt but that Seymour identified himself with this killer, the crazy man who is punished for his crime. Probably Jack and the criminal represent two sides of the boy's nature. Seymour is good natured, phlegmatic, and lazy. He does not study, and his school work is mediocre. The examiner found him resistant and disinterested. His sister describes him as excitable and quick-tempered. The stories point to a strong Oedipus complex, with marked father hostility and the desire to return to the mother. This story illustrates the father hostility.

School = mother. There is an obvious equation between school and mother or home. Boys and girls often displace their attitudes from home to school. Liking of school is a displacement of love of mother; hate of school is a displacement of wish to achieve independence of mother. Julian (case 32), in story 18, intertwines these two themes in a very convincing way. We see his conflict between love of his domineering mother and wishing to become separated from her. He tries separation, but comes back to her. Part of his attitude toward school is identification with his father, who wishes the boy to get an education.

One of American boys who chose to run away from home. Disliked school and homework. Decides to run away. Saved some money. Always wanted to go to New York. Hopes for job. When he gets there, finds it larger than he expected. Can't find job. Rejected, for he has no high school diploma. Finally a job in shirt factory. Finds he has to work real hard for \$10 per week. After he works for week or two, finds no future in it. Tries to find another job. Still reject him, for he has no diploma. So disgusted, he goes home again. Parents glad to see him. Welcome him, for they know it taught him a lesson. He goes to school with better spirit. Knows it's essential. Finally graduates and gets a good job. (Julian, case 32, story 18)

SEX

There is no doubt but that the stories throughout portray attitudes and tensions with regard to sex impulses, but these attitudes are heavily disguised and overlain with respectability. The sexual significance is far less obvious than it is in dreams, in which the displacements, distortions, and disguises are more transparent. But in its psychoanalytic sense sex refers to many infantile trends that have "pre-genital" significance and as such are only remotely related to sex in its usual significance. Natalie (case 21) shows a number of these sexual implications in her stories. This thirteen-year-old girl is very quiet, demure, unobtrusive, emotionally undeveloped, and inhibited. She is overlooked by her teachers, some of whom think she is dull. Her mother is domineering and would force the girl to have more initiative—the father is quiet. The girl spends much time with dolls and imaginary companions. Many of the stories are concerned over possible exposure if she should become more active.

She's come home from the dance late. Is going upstairs quietly so mother won't hear her. It ends up that her mother is very glad she's home, because a little girl was kidnapped and mother was afraid it might be her girl. (Natalie, case 21, story 39)

This story shows the wish for and the fear of sexual experience, kidnapping being equated with a sexual episode.

A group of people from the church are on a picnic. Playing hide and seek, and she sees a good place to hide. When she gets there, she finds someone has been there first. In the meantime the person stopped counting and they capture her and she's it, so she stops. (Natalie, case 21, story 40)

Here the theme of hiding and being caught in the form of "hide and seek" represents the same wish and fear. But she cannot play a more active role, so stops the game. Her wishes are of the most passive kind. With these two stories as clues, it is possible to see the same sexual significance in other themes which are less obvious.

She's walking home from school. Has been in library. Has to go through dark part of town. Sees a man following her. All the lights go out where she is. She gets frightened. She decides to hide behind a tree. Maybe the man will walk past her. Man sees her behind the trees. He comes up to her and says: "Lady did you drop this handkerchief?" (Natalie, case 21, story 42)

Here the sexual theme is obvious—the wish which is not too obviously repressed by the fear, and then her own need to cover over the dangerous significance of the episode.

She is waiting outside an employment office. Others didn't get the job. She needs job badly to support mother. She has gone through 12th grade. This is a job for a stenographer. Other girls look as though they can fill position. She wonders if she will get it. Man comes out at end of day to say he was closing up and for all to come back tomorrow, that first come first served. She decides not to go home, but sits there all night. In the morning he comes back and gives her the job. (Natalie, case 21, story 37)

We may assume that getting a job from a man in this case has the same sort of significance that being kidnapped by a man or being followed by a man has.

Seven o'clock in morning. Girl is deciding whether to go to school. She's deciding she is going to be sick, because it's exam day. It's the day when decisions are made to pass the children on to high school. If she doesn't go, she'll get a 70. If she goes and takes it, she'll get a 65. She decides to stay home so she'll get a better mark. (Natalie, case 21, story 34)

Here also the waiting theme is employed, and we may assume that passing the exam also has significance equivalent to that of a sexual episode. This, of course, is a far-removed interpretation and not the only or most plausible interpretation. Indeed, the need of ego enhancement is a much more obvious interpretation in this last story. Still, the personality pattern of passivity and dread of exposure is the same in this story about cutting the examination as in the story of avoiding kidnapping—and the assumption that there is an unconscious sexual significance to both has some justification. With this associational pattern of reasoning in mind, it is possible to imbue themes in the stories of most of these cases with some sexual significance, particularly those with active aggressive and those with passive implications.

For instance, driving an automobile, collisions, and crashes are well-known sexual symbols. Harold (case 5) introduces automobiles into many of his stories. To card 13 he exclaims, "Oh boy, I like autos." This boy, described as a sissy and fairy, goes in for ballet dancing, being strictly brought up by a mother who superintends every activity. Story 3 shows a close association between an auto accident and erotic interests.

That's her boy friend. Some other girl stole him from her. Looks sadly on. Opens book, but can't help thinking how she loves him. A couple of days later the two are in an auto accident. The girl dies. The boy is seriously hurt. The other girl brings flowers. He gets well, and they run off and get married. (Harold, case 5, story 3)

Then story 22 told by Harold (given on page 83), is classic in its display of mother hostility.

That Harold found this almost too obvious himself is evident from his response when confronted with this story in the association period. He was very amused at the story and said he hoped he wouldn't be as mean as that. The Oedipus complex stands out with undisguised clearness, and the episode is a sadistic combination of sexual aggressiveness and hostility.

Robbery, which is a frequent theme in the stories, both by boys and by girls, frequently has a sexual significance. Story 36, told by Jimmy (case 37) (to be found on page 297), makes this interpretation particularly clear. The almost inevitable guilt which accompanies sex is found in the punishment of "30 days," but the sexual desire overrides this and is in the end dominant.

The stories of this boy have already been used to illustrate aggressiveness and Oedipus fantasies. Thoughts of dating, girls, and sex relations come freely to him, so that this story makes the relationship between robbery and sex clearer than in stories by more inhibited individuals.

Jimmy, who is warmhearted and well-adjusted, a leader in school and popular with other boys, writes easily on erotic themes. In story 18 (to be found on page 287) he makes an obvious equation between writing and sex—instead of meeting a girl, he switches the story to writing about love. This boy is something of a psychologist, for as he finishes his story, he remarks, "In other words, searching for self, I guess," indicating his own searching for the expression of erotic impulses. Other stories show a strong Oedipus complex, and the death in this story is undoubtedly his punishment for incestuous tendencies.

Sexual inhibition prevents making the interest in sex too obvious, and rivalry with the father makes it too dangerous. Sometimes this is disguised by telling the story from the point of view of the opposite sex. Seymour (case 36) tells erotic stories from the point of view of

the girl, as illustrated in story 41. Whereas he feels strong rivalry with his father, in several stories he places female characters in the rivalry situation.

Picture of girl who's going to get married next month. Her sister also in love with the man she was going to marry. But she married him anyhow. They bought a home in New Jersey and had a very happy life. When her husband came home from work, she was all ready for him. One day the husband said he had to go on business trip to Canada. Girl said she always wanted to go to Canada. Wanted to go along. Started out. Went to Niagara Falls. Then to Canada to see quintuplets. After business finished, they started back to U.S. Went home and told of good time and had very happy life together. (Seymour, case 36, story 41)

Natalie (case 21), who is sexually repressed and in actual life is quiet, demure, and unobtrusive, tells the following story:

This woman has two daughters—one her own, and one her second husband's daughter. Hers' is beautiful; other one is not. There is something on tonight, and the mother is letting her daughter go, but is keeping the other one home to do dishes, etc. Other girl wishes her mother was alive so she wouldn't have to live with this selfish woman. (Natalie, case 21, story 41)

One naturally thinks of identifying her with the girl who is permitted to go to the party, but probably she is identifying herself in just as real a sense with the girl who stays home, for this serves as a defense and a protection against dangerous sexual fantasies. One also sees mother hostility and rivalry here, and there is probably some borrowed erotic satisfaction of a more remote nature.

In a more general sense, much repression implies sexual repression and much fear sexual fear, well illustrated by the stories of Natalie. Whatever a boy or girl does not dare to do is frequently related to sexual repression.

SEQUENCE OF STORIES

We have learned that the sequence of themes from story to story has significance which transcends the significance of themes in any one story, and much can be learned by following the sequence of dynamic factors. For instance, Karl (case 11), whose stories have a somewhat psychotic character, tells a story of death wishes against his mother (story 9), classic in its simplicity. But this fantasy overwhelms him

and not only is there jail at the end of this story, but oblivion, as lightning blacks out all the lights.

Looks like a jail. Empire State Building in distance. Church where he goes and where his mother is buried. He wishes he hadn't murdered his mother. If he hadn't murdered his mother, he would be in Hollywood and be a movie star. In jail for 3 years. (Karl, case 11, story 9)

(Queer) Trees fallen down. Lightning has struck the house. Puts all lights in house out of commission, including the telephone, and the water. They ran out of the house for help. Ladder is just about to fall down, when they walk out of the house. (Karl, case 11, story 10)

Richard (case 38) tells a simple story (25) of a boy calling on a girl and finding another fellow there. He evidently formulated this situation before he realized its import for him, for he quickly rationalizes it and brings the story to an abrupt and innocuous conclusion.

Young fellow, and he's knocking at door of his fiancée. He finds her home, but with another fellow, and he becomes very angry and—but he finds out other fellow is girl's cousin. So everything ends very happily. That's all. (Richard, case 38, story 25)

Richard's parents have separated, and he lives with his mother and stepfather. He has a strong emotional tie to his mother, so that the situation which he formulated was one that was very real and highly charged emotionally for him. Then, when presented with picture 26, he showed great resistance and irritation and said, "I don't understand this picture." And the story itself shows great anxiety, which undoubtedly was aroused by the previous picture and story.

Fellow came out of movie, where they played murder pictures. As he entered house, no light. When he puts on small lamp, shadow thrown through room. So he becomes rather frightened, and it's very early in morning, so he decides to go to bed and pull covers over head and finally falls to sleep. (Richard, case 38, story 26)

Frequently a story will fail to yield its significance, and the interpreter will have to wait until he has read several later stories. For instance, story 2, told by Nancy (case 31), is about a widow who had been left money by her husband. The significance of this particular fantasy is not revealed until story 17, which is another story with a widow in which her son takes his father's place and gives his mother advice on money matters. Undoubtedly the woman in story 2 has a

similar significance, but the narrator was too repressed to incorporate the significance into an early story in the series.

Doorbell rang in Mrs. Lewis' house. Early in morning. Was disturbed. Mrs. Lewis was a quiet woman. Never had much to do with anybody. Was alone in world; husband dead; no children. Had left her money. Was a neighbor with a bundle under her arm. Smiled and asked if she could come in. Mrs. Lewis allowed her in. Woman made herself comfortable. Sat down in easy chair. Saw she was from Red Cross and that they were doing work for those in war over there. Mrs. Lewis couldn't see what this had to do with her. Asked why she should come to her. Said she had sewing, and asked her to do it. Mrs. Lewis agreed. Next day she was in living room, sewing vigorously—very annoyed. Felt good because no one had asked her for help before. (Nancy, case 31, story 2)

Mrs. Jones was young widow. Husband dead several years. He had left her some money, so that things were not too hard for her. Had a young boy, 16. Tommy was a likable youngster. He took his father's place in many things. Was learning a trade in school which would help him get work later. Was dependable. Often Mrs. Jones asked his opinion of matters involving money. She was a mother to be envied. He was an example for boys to take. (Nancy, case 31, story 17)

There are many stories and elements of stories whose significance remains locked and which can be understood only as the theme is given additional associations in a later story or in the association period or in relation to real life facts. Individuals using the picture-story method should not expect to find meaning and personal reference in every story and in every theme. In dream analysis as part of a psychoanalytic procedure one has access to association to the dream and to other material which the subject has presented. To attempt to make blind interpretations of picture material is to make wild and random guesses—to act on ill-advised hunches and hypotheses. Stories can be interpreted with assurance only when further material and evidence permit the interpreter to see relationships and to tie feelings, motives, and events together.

SHIFTS IN THE STORIES

The stories themselves represent a dynamic process. For the short period during which they are being told they represent an arena in which conflicts are being tried out, with what change in personality

is never known. They represent a release and have therapeutic value. A process is going on during the period in which the stories are told, and one can often see it in operation. Mabel (case 22), for instance, is known as very demure, sweet, co-operative, and popular. Her stories show a strong desire for romance, but always to be followed by punishment. Her sweetness in life is a reaction formation against her wishes to be coarse and vulgar. Story 33 shows this trend.

Two girls are the same girl in reality. The blond one went to a movie house for a job. They said she was just what they needed, but she would have to be fixed up. She goes to the hairdresser and has her hair dyed and is made up. She looks very vulgar, but she turns out to be a big success. (Mabel, case 22, story 33)

Then, after all her excursions into romance and glamor, when she sees that there is only one picture left, she retreats back into her protective encasement of demureness.

Girls are sisters; lady is their mother. One girl is always unneat; hair is uncombed. Other one is always neat—mother always praises her. The other one is sorry she is not neat, because the mother has bought the neat one a nice dress. After that the one who wasn't neat became neat. She looked just as good as the other one. (Mabel, case 22, story 41)

And in story 42, she runs home and locks herself in. There could be no more graphic expression of repression and reaction formation.

Girl lives quite a ways from her school. Has to walk through a dark street on her way home. A man follows her. She notices it when she gets to a place where there are no houses. She starts to run. He almost catches up to her, when she gets to her house, runs in, and locks the door. (Mabel, case 22, story 42)

Sam (case 9) tells stories that are the acme of masochism, passivity, and dependence which he demonstrates in part by identification with female characters. In real life, he has very strict parents. He is self-centered, daydreams, and is called lazy, careless, and thoughtless by his teachers. His struggles at self-assertion are plainly evident in the stories, but he lacks stamina to carry them through and easily retreats to his passive submissive themes. Story 23 illustrates his retreat from self-assertiveness.

Good gosh—tough-one! This young fellow just got married and lost job. Out of work. Starving after 3 months. Even furniture hocked. Decided

to go on relief. Tired of dependency. Decided to steal. Stormed out of tenement. Looked for man to attack. After a while his mind began to clear. Thought how to get job. Returned home. Told wife he hadn't stolen. Relieved. At last got job. Night watchman. Worked way up. Moved from tenement. Made district manager of shoe concern. Told children his story, try to steal, etc. Advice: whenever you are mad, go out and take a long walk. (Sam, case 9, story 23)

But as the stories proceed, Sam becomes somewhat more assertive, until in story 40 the self-assertiveness is kept up to a successful conclusion, and no guilt is shown for the assertiveness. But the identification is purely feminine.

(Looks like Judy Garland.) In this little town up north they had eventful race. Boys started 5 minutes before girls in forest. Girls who can get boys would take them to dance. Joan was fastest girl. Favored to get boy she wanted. A lot of gypping. Met boys by special appointment. But Joan had to catch her man. He ran and ran. Reached end of forest. Heard rustle in trees. Off streaked Jack. And away ran Joan keeping an eye on his tails. After ten minutes Joan got tired and stopped. Jack ran for a while and stopped. But she played trick. Didn't stop. Made arc and caught him. Prize for getting fastest man was new dress. Jack was fastest. It wasn't that Jane was faster, but she outwitted him. (Sam, case 9, story 40)

FANTASIES AND PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

It is possible to see some relationship between parental attitudes and the fantasy products of a child. Overprotected children have wild and unrestrained fantasies. Wallace (case 1) is a good example. The older of two boys, he is spoiled, overprotected, and overindulged. There is reason to believe that basically he is rejected by his mother, who favors the younger brother. When anything goes wrong at school, the mother comes to school and lectures the teachers. Wallace himself is cocky and irresponsible. His stories are wild and exaggerated. Story 28 to be found on pages 86 and 87 is a good example.

Ralph's (case 2) mother is strict and extracts obedience by threats and punishment. He is meek, mild, hesitant, afraid to talk in class. But his stories are fantastic and wild.

The mother of Roy (case 6) is a severe disciplinarian. He is without initiative, quiet, lazy, and smiling. But his stories are full of excitement, adventure, and criminal deeds.

Roger (case 8) lived with grandparents until he was five and was so overindulged and overprotected that he was helpless to dress and take care of himself until a late age. His stories are filled with violence, murder, robbery, kidnapping, and excitement.

Catherine's (case 12) mother meets her every afternoon and deprives her of going to ball games or of being with boys. She is nervous, high-strung, and jumpy. Her stories are bizarre, wild, and disordered.

Boys and girls who come from homes in which the parents are accepting and loving show stories of an entirely different nature.

Julian (case 32) comes from a happy home. The parents believe in being generous and lenient with the three boys. The mother is somewhat domineering, the father lenient, but he supports the son against his mother. There are fantasies asserting independence of mother and of returning to mother. Fear of aggression shows clearly in the stories.

Edith (case 17) comes from a family in moderate circumstances. The mother is devoted to the family and is proud of this girl, the eldest of four, whom she would like to see go to college. Her stories show anxiety and depression, mostly over sex and her relations with boys.

Margaret (case 24) is an only child and her father's pride. He would like to have her compensate for what he has not been able to achieve, and has made plans for her future. Her stories show conflict between rebellion and conformity. There is strong identification with the father, as well as hostility to the father.

It is difficult to generalize, as each case is so unique both in the family relations and in the nature of the fantasy material. Accepted children by no means always have fantasies which are free from anxiety or conflict. But the stories are more realistic and less exaggerated or distorted. The repressed child may find his outlet in wild and exaggerated fantasy; the free and secure child lives more actively and realistically, and the stories will deal with deeper conflicts. Those stories in which the Oedipus conflict is most apparent were told by children who were the best adjusted.

SEX DIFFERENCES IN STORIES

In the section presenting an inventory of themes it was pointed out that there are characteristic differences between the stories of boys and girls. The aggressive themes of the boys are much more direct with greater use of physical violence. The girls, on the other hand,

show aggression more socially by such devices as disobedience, rebellion, coercion, or resistance. Two stories will be given to illustrate this difference. The first, told by a boy of five, is direct in its savage aggression. However, all the aggressive stories told by this boy lack feeling—they are told with *sang-froid* and stolidity. Actually this boy is most feminine and passive in real life.

Couple have come in to fortune teller. Tells them of future. How they get married. Live happily. Die when old. Opposite happens. Don't get married. Hate each other. He kills her, her mother, father, and sister. Sentenced to electric chair. He is about to die, when they think he is innocent. He lies. Freed. He is caught after killing another and sentenced again. He dies in electric chair in six minutes. (Harold, case 5, story 8)

The following story, told by girl 24, shows aggression by resistance on the part of the boy and trickery on the part of the girl. The harm done is not so much physical as it is personal. Feelings are hurt more than the body.

In high school everyone should look as neat as possible. Some people never did as they were asked. One boy refused to keep collar neat. Sent for the principal. Boy didn't care; was defiant. Student council tried to get boy to make a neat appearance. Tried to get a girl to invite him to leap year dance and would embarrass him. Girl told him to wear anything. Everyone else very dressed up. Girls formal. Went to dance—everyone looked at them—boy not properly dressed. Very self-conscious. Tried to fix tie—someone took it away. Girl wouldn't leave. Couldn't wait to get home. Angry with girl for playing trick on him. Realized he was hurting school and not gaining anything. Next day looked very neat; became one of best-dressed fellows in school. Got it under his name when he graduated. (Margaret, case 24, story 15)

Actually Margaret is a tomboy, fond of athletics, full of life and fun, and very popular.

So the form of aggression in the stories may be a masculine or a feminine characteristic, but it expresses the covert personality of wish rather than the overt personality of actual behavior and social contact.

Likewise, boys and girls approach the erotic theme differently. To a boy love means getting a girl; but to a girl love means a personal relationship. The following two stories may illustrate this difference. Julian (case 32) tells a story in which he shows the characteristic male search for a female. The fact that inhibitions arise due to the fact

that the newcomer is married is important, but may be overlooked in this connection.

Fellow who lived in neighborhood quite a while. Finds a new girl has moved in. Pretty. Likes her very much. Hasn't courage to talk to her. One day he gathers up enough courage. Goes to knock on door. She asks what he wants. He said he'd like to get acquainted with new neighbor. Finds she's married. Sorry. She says it's all right. Stay for lunch. When he leaves he's still very embarrassed. When fellows hear of it, they laugh. Makes resolution. If any new girls move into street, he'll find out about them before he tries to get acquainted. (Julian, case 32, story 25)

Nancy (case 31) tells a story in which the girl is passive and receptive and the emphasis is on the personal relationship, the closeness, the community of interest, and the affection.

Nancy had just finished the dishes. Was going to change her dress and freshen up a bit. Doorbell rang. Answered it—in walked John (young man who lived down the street). They had intention of some day being married. John was beaming—so happy he couldn't talk. Finally blurted out that he had a good job. Nancy stood there and gasped at him. Took her hand and said affectionately "You know what that means. We can be married immediately." (Nancy, case 31, story 31)

In real life Julian (case 32) tends to be passive. He potters about the kitchen and likes to cook. In school he is ambitious and does good work. Although sixteen years old, he shows no interest in girls, and there is a strong fixation on his domineering mother.

Nancy (case 31), on the other hand, is critical and aggressive, ingratiating with adults, but tending to antagonize her many girl friends. She is a socially outgoing girl.

It is possible to judge of masculine or feminine trends or active or passive trends from the stories, although these may be covert and may be disguised in real life by reaction formations.

VIII. ASSOCIATIONS TO THE STORIES

AFTER ALL THE STORIES had been told, they were read to the boy or girl who told them, and he (or she) was asked where the story originated and to give any associations which came to his mind. The directions for obtaining the associations are given on page 58.

A tabulation of the sources of the stories presented in Table 10.

Comments on these headings and the method of tabulation may be helpful. Only one source for each story was tabulated, even when several sources were mentioned. In general, preference was given first to "own experience"; secondly, to members of the family, friends, and acquaintances; and thirdly, to observations of the experiences of others. If several persons were mentioned, preference was given to parents, siblings, other relatives, friends, acquaintances, and strangers in the order mentioned.

Any person who was a neighbor or a resident of the community as well as a pupil in school was classed as a friend or an acquaintance. A stranger was a person the narrator had seen not more than once.

It was not always easy to distinguish between actual experiences in which the subject was a participant and those in which he participated in fantasy. In eight cases it was clear that the source of the story was a wish, and in eight other cases the story-teller fantasied himself a participant.

The source of stories credited to "story" might well have been credited to movie or radio if the full facts were known. Children frequently refer to a movie that they have seen as a story, but unless it was explicitly stated that the source was a movie, it was not so credited. Experiences listed under the heading "school" may also be debatable. In many cases it was clear that the subject was a participant in these episodes, and they were listed under "own experiences." Under "school" were listed stories containing episodes of which the subject considered himself an observer.

TABLE 10
SOURCES OF STORIES

<i>Source</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Own experience		329	20.1
Own experience	314		
Wish	8		
Fantasy in which one is a participant	7		
<hr/>			
Experience of others		352	21.4
Friends, acquaintances	183		
Parents	50		
Siblings	34		
Other relatives	55		
Strangers	28		
Family	1		
Examiner	1		
<hr/>			
Observation of the experience of others		584	35.5
Movie	188		
Radio	72		
Newspaper—daily news—outstanding personages	61		
Story	58		
Book	54		
Funnies—comics	44		
Magazine	28		
Something seen or heard	15		
Read about it	12		
Detective or mystery story	11		
Picture in advertisement or on wall	10		
School	8		
History	6		
Fairy story	5		
Drama, play	3		
Poem	2		
Song	2		
Sunday School lesson	2		
Bible story	1		
Mythology	1		
Card given with gum	1		

TABLE 10 (Continued)

<i>Source</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Imagination—"came to me"; "just made it up"		249	15.2
Generalized thought		64	3.9
Miscellaneous		45	2.7
Heard of—told by another	15		
"Often happens"—common occurrence	15		
Gossip—event heard about	11		
Conversation	3		
Dream	1		
<hr/>			
Interpretation of picture		20	1.2

The sixty-four entries under "generalized thought" are of particular interest. When asked for the source of his story, a boy or girl might produce some kind of a philosophical generalization or moral principle. It would appear that in these cases the story became an embodiment of a general belief or moral conflict. It is also believed that these stories contain references to important tendencies, doubts, anxieties, or conflicts in the narrator.

Normally, when a subject mentions a given source for stories, he will have told several stories from that source. This emphasizes the highly individual nature of fantasy. For instance, although only a few subjects specified gossip, or generalized thoughts, or mystery stories as the source of their stories, these few gave several examples of each particular source.

No clear-cut sex differences were found as regards the source of the stories. Younger subjects tended to secure more stories from the funnies and comic books and from skits heard on the radio. Older subjects produced more stories from the daily news and their own generalized thoughts.

No relationship has been found between the source of the stories and the personality of the boy or the girl telling the stories. In particular, stories that come from "own experience" are not produced more frequently from well-adjusted or from poorly adjusted subjects. Well-adjusted and poorly adjusted subjects are not differentiated by the number of stories they trace to a personal experience. Even a more detailed comparison of the life history of the subjects who recognize

many personal experiences and no personal experience in their stories reveals no consistent difference. All that can be said is that the fantasies of some children have a distinctly personal reference—and in other children the personal reference is highly repressed. The non-autobiographical type of story seems to possess no greater and no less correspondence (or contrast) with the manifest personality of the subject than stories in which the autobiographical element is absent. Knowledge of the source of the stories seems to possess no diagnostic significance as far as the data in this study goes.

However, even though the associations do not show any quantitative relationship with any phase of the personality of the subjects telling them, they prove to have great value in throwing light on the analytic and diagnostic significance of the stories and of the subjects telling them. The associations not only show the personal reference in the stories but also help to connect the stories with the experiences and personalities of the boys or girls telling them. One case of Roy (case 6) will be used to illustrate the value of the associations. Roy—thirteen years old—is fat, stolid, unsure of himself, and lacking in aggression. One teacher suggests that he is too frightened to make a disturbance. He seems always to be getting into scrapes. He likes to read adventure stories, and he enjoys boating, swimming, camping, and life out of doors. His mother is a severe disciplinarian. His stories are full of adventure, excitement, and criminal deeds. A recurrent theme includes a sequence of crime, capture, and punishment. Frequently a spy reveals the criminal, saves the innocent man, and is rewarded.

His associations reveal a heavy burden of anxiety. Roy relates many real incidents in which he was in danger and escaped accident and injury narrowly. He is afraid that he will spend all his money; he is afraid of fire, of an accident on his bicycle, of capsizing in a small boat, of a haunted house, of losing his model airplane, of getting thrown into the water, and of hurricanes. He is afraid of the man in authority, the policeman, the junkman, and the caretaker. He is afraid of boys, especially big boys, who might break up their clubhouse, and of the snowball fights. He finds other boys his rivals, but he does not challenge them. He gets angry with the boy who pushes him into the water, at his cousin for shooting off his firecrackers, but he does not

dare to do anything about it. He is afraid of his mother, who scolds him—"from that day on I couldn't hear the last of it"—and of his father—"he gave me a good fanning and sent me to bed."

When we turn to his stories, we find that every experience which he relates in his associations corresponds to a theme in a story—but the stories are many times more thrilling, dangerous, and powerful than his real experiences. In real life he may become anxious at some trifle—in fantasy, as shown by the stories, the danger is greatly magnified. Roy was frightened by a grass fire near his house, but in his story (6) the house is burning. He was involved in a bicycle collision, but he tells the story of a dangerous train wreck. He once passed a counterfeit bill that came into his possession, but in his story two boys make counterfeit bills, are arrested and convicted. He discovers that his mother takes money from his toy bank, but he tells the story of a bank robbery. He gets involved in a kind of boy gang warfare, but tells of bandits. The preceding summer a boy he knew owned a toy submarine; in his story a submarine was torpedoed. In a model plane contest a plane hits a telephone wire; in his story a real airplane races to get a mail contract from the Government, getting wrecked when its wheels get caught on electric wires. In every case his story enlarges and magnifies some personal experience which, however trivial, aroused in him a flaming anxiety.

Putting together the stories, the associations to them, and his life history, it seems clear that Roy has been so severely punished and threatened by his parents that he is in a constant state of anxiety. Fear of punishment by his parents has been displaced as fear of many persons and many situations. Because of the strength of his inner anxiety, even trivial incidents serve as stimuli to extravagant fantasies of fear and dread. In real life he is punished by his parents for eating the frosting off a cake, but in the story which stimulated this association the hero is brought before the firing squad.

This case is presented to show how associations may help to tie the stories to real life experiences. The associations assist measurably in the interpretation of the stories. However, the interpretation never follows exactly the same pattern, and the illustrations given show how the association may be used in a given case, but not what may be expected in the stories of any other individual.

IX. STUDY OF QUANTITATIVE RELATIONSHIPS

*T*HE THEME COUNTS from the stories, behavior ratings by teachers, estimates of adjustment by the author and his assistants, self-expressions of interest as measured by the Sheviakov-Friedberg Questionnaire, age, and sex provide quantitative data which lend themselves to the statistical determination of relationships. By this statistical means some of the observations and hunches which were noted in the analysis and comparison of the story and case material can be verified. One of the principal observations in the study of the case material was that the fantasy material was so often in complete contrast to the life history and case material. The extent to which this observation represents a definite trend in the data can be determined more exactly from the quantitative data by correlation methods.

Variables

ADJUSTMENT

Rankings of adjustment were made on the forty cases. Dr. Wexler and Dr. Silverman ranked the boys and girls, respectively, for adjustment. No specific definition was given for adjustment, but it was understood that those individuals would be ranked high who were well spoken of at school and at home and who gave indications of being stable and happy individuals. Those were to be ranked low who were poorly spoken of at school and at home and who gave indications of being confused, unstable, and unhappy. These two ranks were thrown into a single rank order from 1 to 40 by alternating boys and girls, giving girls the odd ranks and boys the even ranks. Rankings of adjustment were also made by Mrs. Chamoulaud and the author. These three sets of rankings for adjustment were thrown into a combined rank order by summing the ranks for each individual and making a new ranking from these sums. The reliability of the rankings may be estimated from the correlations between each of the three sets of ranks.

TABLE 11

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PAIRS OF RANKINGS OF ADJUSTMENT

<i>Items Correlated</i>	<i>Coefficient of Correlation</i>
* (Wexler—Silverman)—Chamoulaud	.59
* (Wexler—Silverman)—Symonds	.62
* Chamoulaud—Symonds	.85
* (Wexler—Silverman)—composite	.82
* Chamoulaud—composite	.92
* Symonds—composite	.93

These correlations are high and indicate that it is possible to judge such a composite variable as adjustment from extensive case material with a high degree of reliability.

FANTASY THEMES

The count of 25 themes constitutes variables 2 to 26. This count indicates the number of stories out of the total of 42 in which a given theme occurs for a given individual on the hypothesis that a theme is a more prevailing fantasy as it occurs in a large number of stories. As has already been stated, no theme was counted unless it occurred in three or more stories for an individual. Consequently, frequencies of 1 or 2 do not appear in this theme count. The twenty-five themes are as follows: family, mother, aggression, death, economic concern, money, punishment, police, separation, love, style, anxiety, altruism, depression, success, school, happiness, repentance, accident-illness, socialness, ending, goodness, badness, guilt, excitement.

NUMBER OF THEMES PER INDIVIDUAL

Variable twenty-seven was the number of themes given per individual. This variable was included because there was reason to believe that a given theme might have a high count or a low count depending upon the individual's productivity or unproductivity of fantasy in general as indicated by the length of the story and the number of themes expressed in the stories.

TEACHER RATINGS

Teacher ratings were obtained on a rating scale of twenty behavior characteristics. As the rating scale was printed, the positive description of a variable was given on the right-hand side of the sheet, and

the negative description on the left-hand side of the sheet. Five steps were provided to indicate deviations on each side of a mean value. The mean was called zero with plus 1 and plus 2, two degrees on the positive side, and minus 2, two degrees on the negative side. These twenty characteristics were then grouped into six different scales as follows:

1. A *co-operation-aggression* scale, which included the following 5 traits:
Co-operative—nonco-operative
Sympathetic, kind—cruel, bullying
Praises, does not ridicule—ridicules, overcritical
Agreeable, pleasant—quarrelsome, disagreeable
Respectful, poised, tactful—impertinent, defiant
2. A *stability-unstability* scale, which included the following 5 traits:
Makes own decisions, knows own mind—suggestible, easily led
Emotionally stable, controlled, stolid—excitable
Calm, not nervous—nervous, restless
Reliable, responsible—unreliable, irresponsible
Waits turn, not loquacious—interrupts, talkative
3. A *sociability, realism-unrealism* scale, which included the following 4 traits:
Sociable, friendly—unsociable, withdrawing
Generous, a good sport—selfish, unsportsmanlike
Realistic, wide-awake—daydreams, fancies
Attentive—inattentive
4. A *happiness-unhappiness* scale, which included the following 3 traits:
Happy, cheerful—unhappy, depressed
Persevering—easily discouraged
Not easily disturbed or hurt—sensitive, easily hurt
5. A *security-fear* scale, which included the following 2 traits:
Trustful, has faith in others—suspicious, distrustful
Not easily frightened, courageous—fearful, apprehensive

Each pupil was rated by four individuals—three of his teachers and Wexler or Silverman. Composite ratings were made for each of the six variables by summing the ratings of the traits composing a given variable for the four individuals who did the rating. When the ratings

by the teachers were first inspected, it was believed that they were hardly usable, inasmuch as they seemed to show little discrimination. Many times the ratings went straight up and down the zero column with very few that deviated to the plus or minus. However, when the composites were made, as indicated above, the ratings turned out to have a typical reliability.

TABLE 12

THE RELIABILITY OF TEACHER RATINGS,
TWO TEACHERS VERSUS TWO TEACHERS

<i>Items Correlated</i>	<i>Reliability Coefficients</i>
^r (Co-operation-aggression)	.48
^r (Stability-unstability)	.69
^r (Realism-unrealism)	.59
^r (Happiness-unhappiness)	.31
^r (Security-fearfulness)	.35
^r Total ratings	.62

In addition, all the ratings were summed to make a total teacher rating which becomes variable 33. This total teacher rating of behavior may be compared with the ratings of adjustment. The correlation between these two is .84, a remarkably high relationship when it is remembered that the teachers entered their ratings from their observation of pupils' behavior in the classroom, whereas the rankings for adjustment were made from the study of the records gathered in the investigation. It is true that either Wexler or Silverman constituted one of the four who contributed to the teacher ratings and one of the three who contributed to the rankings for adjustment, but they made these judgments several months apart. Their ratings of behavior were done first as a result of their personal contact with the forty cases, whereas their ratings of adjustment were made from a review of the records. It is doubtful if the fact that their judgment entered into both the teacher ratings for adjustment contributed much to the high relationship between them. This high relationship must be attributed to the fact that there is substantial agreement in passing judgment on individuals when the total impression is based on considerable data.¹

¹ Lorge suggests that the teacher behavior ratings are tied to the ratings of adjustment by a general goodness factor which is also related to general intelligence. Our intelligence test data which are taken from the school records represent results from different group tests, given over a period of time by several different teachers who were

SHEVIKOV-FRIEDBERG QUESTIONNAIRE

Although the Sheviakov-Friedberg Questionnaire was scored for twenty-four variables, only five of them have been used in this quantitative relationship study. These are aggression, family, authority, identification, and opposite sex. This questionnaire is essentially an interest questionnaire—pupils being asked their liking or disliking of various activities. These activities were then classified as having various kinds of dynamic significance and were classified under several headings. For instance, thirty-three questions have been included under the category "Aggression." Examples are: "throwing things when I am mad," "arguing with the teacher," and "hitting someone who has annoyed me very much." Under the heading "Family," thirty-two items have been included which indicate general liking of the family and participation and interest in family affairs. Illustrations are: "inviting a lot of people home for a party"; "lending my things to members of my family"; "listening to a radio program with the family"; "discussing my school work with father." Twenty-six items contributed to the variable "Authority." A high score on this variable indicates an acceptance of authority and willingness to submit to authority. Illustrations are: "writing papers on definite assigned topics rather than having a free choice"; "having a teacher lead and supervise a free-time activity"; "having my parents set a time for me to be in at night." Sixteen items contributed to the variable "Identification with others." This item deals with the tendency to associate with contemporaries, to be sensitive to their opinions, and to want to be like them. Illustrations are: "having a lot of close friends with whom I can talk about anything"; "talking to strangers on a streetcar or train to find out about them"; "finding out how other people with different ideas from mine have come to their opinions." Twenty-eight items contributed to the variable "Relationship with opposite sex." This variable relates to interest in members of the opposite sex. Illustrative items are: "going

not always scrupulous in following directions. Correlations of I.Q.'s from school records correlated .56 with teachers' ratings and .52 with ratings of adjustment, thereby bearing out Lorge's suggestion that the high correlation between teachers' ratings and adjustment ratings might be related to the joint influence on these ratings of estimates of intelligence. These correlations were surprisingly high, inasmuch as intelligence has not been an important factor in this study and none of the workers paid particular attention to I.Q. ratings. The correlation must be due to some unconscious estimate of the person's ability through his alertness, language, and general bearing.

to a dance"; "going on dates with different boys and girls"; "reading love novels and magazines."

These five variables represent manifest interests which a boy or a girl will admit and is willing to check on this questionnaire. They should be contrasted with the themes from the fantasy material, which represents the covert or projected traits in an individual—those which he does not recognize and does not readily admit, but with which he clothes the characters in his stories.

AGE

Item 39 is chronological age.

SEX

Item 40 is the sex of the subject, whether a boy or girl.

Computation of Relationships

The relationships between these 40 variables were worked out by machine methods on Hollerith equipment through the courtesy of Dr. Irving Lorge and the Institute of Educational Research, Division of Educational Psychology, Teachers College, Columbia University. The scores on each of the variables had first to be coded. Each variable was coded on a scale of from 0 to 9, two-digit distribution being avoided in order to shorten the process. Because of the large number of undistributed zeros, seven variables were dichotomized, namely, variables dealing with thematic counts for school, happiness, socialness, goodness, badness, guilt, and also sex. Pearson coefficients of correlation were computed for the relationship between all single-digit variables. Point bi-serial correlations were computed for the relationship between single-digit variables and dichotomized variables. Phi coefficients were computed between all pairs of dichotomized variables. In many of the variables representing theme counts there were a large number of undistributed zeros. In the case of the variable "Repentance," for instance, fourteen of the forty scores were zero. This would indicate a distribution that had only partly emerged from zero. As one reviews the meaning of the theme counts, one sees that they represent the number of stories in which a given theme occurs for any individual. Fourteen individuals failed to have as many as three stories containing themes of repentance. It is possible that were

several hundred stories collected, relatively fewer individuals would show no stories with repentance themes in them. The undistributed zero is partly a function of the number of stories collected for an individual. When a distribution is truncated in this manner, the correlation is less than it would have been had the correlation been computed on the total range of the distribution. The exact amount by which the correlation is thus attenuated is shown by the computations in Table 13, in which the correlation for the total distribution is .75.

TABLE 13

ATTENUATION OF PEARSON COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION
DUE TO TRUNCATION OF ONE DISTRIBUTION

<i>Distribution Cut Off below the Following Sigma Values in One Variable</i>	<i>Resulting Coefficient of Correlation</i>
$-\infty$	.750
-1.54	.710
-.97	.668
-.41	.622
+.16	.579
+.72	.404
+1.28	.424

These values indicate that the correlations from a truncated distribution are attenuated, but the dropping off is not large. Consequently it is believed that many of the correlations with theme counts are lower than the real relationship which would have been obtained with these variables had the total distribution been available.

The standard error when $r = 0$ for forty cases is .16. Consequently, in these data if a correlation coefficient is smaller than about .40, one cannot assert with much confidence that the correlation in the population of which the forty cases of this study is a sample would be different from zero. Very few of the correlations in these data are as high as .40. Most of them are in the neighborhood of .10 and .20. It is fully recognized that these relationships may be due to chance and that another set of forty similar cases might show different relationships. The relationships that are found in the present study, therefore, have suggestive value only. They prove nothing and can be taken only as hunches or hypotheses to be verified by further investigations. There is a certain consistency in these relationships, however, that makes one believe that they have a higher degree of validity than

the statistical probability of departing from chance would permit one to assume. Variables of opposite meaning will have relationships on opposite sides of the correlation zero point. Variables with similar meaning will be on the same side of the correlation zero point and will have a somewhat comparable amount of correlation. These consistencies and regularities, too, might be the product of chance, but they fit in too well with the meaning of the data to attribute them entirely to chance.

In addition, these correlations are verified by their dynamic significance in a given case. For instance, it is found that good adjustment correlates positively with fantasies of anxiety. In other words, the best-adjusted individuals in the group are those who show the most anxiety in their stories. This has already been observed in the stories of well-adjusted individuals and was interpreted as meaning that the good adjustment was a reaction formation which kept the individual from recognizing his anxiety and gave him a way of defending himself against it. It is believed that these dynamic interpretations of the material in a way corroborate the correlations and give them a greater validity than their statistical reliability would warrant.

Correlations with Adjustment

Two items in Table 17 with positive relationships are selected for special comment. The highest correlation with adjustment was socialness, $+.38$, that is, the desire to be popular, to be one of the gang and to go to parties and dances. The next highest correlation with adjustment was anxiety, $+.23$, which indicates, as has already been noted, that the best adjusted tended to be the most anxious and the most anxious tended to be best adjusted. The interpretation has just been given that good adjustment in school and home represents for these individuals a reaction formation as a defense against anxiety. Those with poor adjustment did not show anxiety in their stories, because the anxiety expressed itself symptomatically in their poor adjustment in life.

On the negative side, those with poor adjustment showed the presence of fantasy themes of a different nature. There were correlations of $-.20$ of "economic concern" with adjustment, and of $-.23$ of "money" with adjustment. These were interpreted as indicating the

need for love, affection, and security among the more poorly adjusted pupils. The better the adjustment, the less was the concern with earning money or being provided for. Along with this were the correlations of $-.21$ with "mother" and $-.16$ with "family," which also portrayed concern over the security of personal relationships.

Most of the variables showed negligible correlation with adjustment. So far as this group is concerned, it signifies that the picture-story method does not have diagnostic value, that is, it does not help to distinguish between normal and pathological subjects. It is possible that the method would differentiate between normal subjects and those who are more distinctly pathological, but there is no evidence from the literature in this field that would lend credence to such a hypothesis. Formal characteristics of a story may help to differentiate normal from pathological subjects, but there is no indication that normal subjects can be distinguished from disturbed subjects by the content. The same fantasies are produced by normal and by pathological individuals; this means that the same dynamic forces help to make a person normal that help to make him pathological.

That aggression should show zero correlation with adjustment was unexpected. One might assume that individuals showing the poorest adjustment might show the most frequent themes of aggression, but this is not the case. Well-adjusted as frequently as poorly adjusted pupils told stories of stealing, crime, fighting, and violence. Another surprise was that frequency of themes of punishment should show no relation to adjustment. The well-adjusted as often as the poorly adjusted made reference to capture, arrest, and imprisonment. Contrary to the reports of Balken and Masserman² and Rapaport,³ there was no appreciable correlation in this group with extremes of style and adjustment.

Correlations with Teacher Ratings

As has previously been mentioned, correlation of the total teacher ratings with adjustment was $.84$. Inasmuch as these ratings were made by different individuals and based on different evidence, this correla-

² Balken and Masserman, "The Language of Phantasy; III. The Language of the Phantasies of Patients with Conversion Hysteria, Anxiety State and Obsessive-Compulsive Neurosis," *Journal of Psychology*, X (1940), 75-86.

³ David Rapaport and others. *Diagnostic Psychological Testing*, Vol. II.

tion was extremely high. It indicated that the estimates of adjustment were based largely on the reputation that the pupils had in school as evidenced by their behavior. Table 14 shows the correlation of adjustment with the teacher ratings on five variables.

TABLE 14
CORRELATION OF TOTAL TEACHER RATINGS WITH
ESTIMATES OF ADJUSTMENT

<i>Item Correlated</i>	<i>Coefficient of Correlation</i>
† Realism-unrealism with adjustment	.80
† Co-operation-aggression with adjustment	.67
† Stability-unstability with adjustment	.66
† Happiness-unhappiness with adjustment	.63
† Security-fearfulness with adjustment	.59

Table 15 gives the correlation of each of the five variables rated by teachers with the total teacher rating.

TABLE 15
CORRELATION OF TOTAL TEACHER RATING WITH
EACH VARIABLE RATED BY TEACHERS

<i>Item Correlated</i>	<i>Coefficients of Correlation</i>
† Co-operation-aggression with teacher rating	.87
† Realism-unrealism with teacher rating	.85
† Stability-unstability with teacher rating	.80
† Happiness-unhappiness with teacher rating	.72
† Security-fearfulness with teacher rating	.52

The group of correlations included in Table 15 is spuriously high in that the total includes ratings on the separate variables. The size of the correlation may also be influenced in part by the number of self-ratings in any one category. For instance, five separate ratings are included in the variables co-operation-aggression and stability-unstability; four in the variable realism-unrealism; three in the variable happiness-unhappiness; and two in the variable security-fearfulness. Naturally, those that are made up of five separate ratings are more reliable than those with only two separate ratings, and one would expect them to show higher correlations with the total rating.

Tables 17 and 19 show the correlation of the teacher ratings with each of the 25 fantasy themes.

In the main, the correlations of the themes with teacher rating

coincided with the correlation of the themes with estimates of adjustment and confirms them.

In the following paragraphs comments will be made on outstanding relationships of various themes with teacher rating. The correlation between *anxiety* and teacher ratings for *realism-unrealism* tendencies was $+.28$. Pupils who indulged in the least daydreaming in school showed the most themes of anxiety in their stories. One interpretation of this would be that certain individuals handled their basic anxiety (which revealed itself in fantasy) by a rigid attention to the tasks before them and by keeping busy with these tasks. Those who showed little anxiety in the stories were working off their anxieties through various types of daydreaming and symptom formation in school.

The theme *guilt* correlated with teacher ratings of *co-operation-aggression* $-.25$ and with teacher rating of *security-fearfulness* $-.20$. It is interesting that pupils who included themes of guilt in their stories did not have the same behavior tendencies as those with themes of anxiety. Those whose stories included themes of guilt showed aggression in their actual behavior and gave signs of insecurity. Those who expressed their aggression in real life expressed guilt of it unconsciously in their fantasy life. But those who were co-operative and secure in real life showed no signs of guilt in their fantasy life.

There was a correlation of $+.26$ between the fantasy theme *depression* and the teacher ratings for *co-operation-aggression*. Those who repress their aggressive tendencies tend to turn their aggression in upon themselves, consequently an unconscious theme of depression appears in the stories. Those who expressed their aggression in real life did not show themes of depression in their fantasy life.

The following themes had on the whole negative relationships with acceptable behavior. Teacher ratings of *realism-unrealism* correlated $-.39$ with *economic concern* and $-.34$ with *money* in the stories. Children who did the most daydreaming in school had the most themes of economic striving and of money. The mention of money in a story might pertain as much to being given money (love) as it was to taking or stealing money from others.

The theme of *separation* in the stories correlated $-.26$ with teacher ratings for *co-operation-aggression*; $-.24$ with teacher ratings of *stability-unstability*; and $-.24$ with teacher ratings of *realism-unrealism*. Those individuals who were most concerned over their emotional se-

curity as evidenced by the frequency of themes of separation were aggressive and unstable in real life and indulged in daydreaming. This coincided with current findings with regard to the expression of emotional insecurity in children. When a child felt frustrated in that he feared the loss of his parents' love, he became aggressive.

The fantasy theme *socialness*, correlated $+.46$ with teacher ratings for *realism-unrealism* and $+.40$ with teacher ratings for *stability-unstability*. The need to be with others of one's own age and to go to parties and dances was also stronger with those who were more realistic and more stable in real life.

The fantasy theme *family*, correlated $-.21$, and the fantasy theme, *mother*, $-.24$ with teacher ratings for *stability-unstability*. Those individuals who were most concerned over their family relationships showed this in their behavior by unstable characteristics.

The theme *ending*, correlated $-.25$ with teacher ratings of *realism-unrealism*; $-.18$ with ratings of *co-operation-aggression*; and $+.21$ with ratings of *happiness-unhappiness*. The stories which have been tabulated under this category are those which in the main have happy endings. Often these happy endings followed abruptly a story which had been filled with tragic happenings. It was as though a child who had the need to fill his stories with aggression felt uncomfortable about it and at the end gave them a happy turn. Children who did this tended in real life to be both aggressive and happy and given to daydreaming. These were the individuals who would be characterized as carefree and happy-go-lucky, but who did not actually do their work in school effectively and with success.

The theme *police* correlated $-.30$ with teacher ratings of *realism-unrealism*. Individuals who introduced the figure of a policeman into their stories tended in real life to be given to day-dreaming, to be inattentive, to be unsociable and withdrawing, and to be selfish in relations with others.

The theme *repentance* correlated $-.45$ with teacher ratings of *co-operation-aggression*. The individuals who in real life were most aggressive were the ones who attempted to meet their guilt in fantasy by reform and repentance. The very individuals who were most incorrigible according to their teachers, were those who in their stories were most concerned with reform and repentance.

Most of the correlations in this section were low and negligible and

not worthy of special comment. However, many of them showed the opposite or complementary trend which has been mentioned so many times in this monograph.

Three variables have been both rated by the teachers and listed among the fantasy themes—aggression, happiness, and anxiety. For each the correlation was practically zero, which would indicate that there is no sure correspondence between the themes in a set of stories and similar characteristics in the narrator.

Correlation with Number of Themes

Variable 27 is the total number of themes told by each child. This variable was included in the quantitative data because it was believed that there might be some relationship between frequency with which a theme appeared and the total number of themes which a child told. The latter would be correlated with the length of story. This hypothesis was borne out by the correlations. There was, for instance, a correlation of $+.69$ between the theme *economic concern* and the total number of themes, of $+.63$ with *money*, $+.60$ with *aggression*. On the other hand, there were a few themes in which the correlation with total number of themes was negative. The principal of these was *anxiety*, in which the relationship was $-.19$. In other words, more themes of anxiety were told by children who gave fewer than average themes in general and who told shorter stories. The correlation between *adjustment* and total number of themes was $-.14$. There was insignificant relationship between good adjustment, telling shorter stories, and few themes. There is a possibility that the correlation between adjustment and each of the themes, or between any two themes, was influenced by the joint relationship with total number of themes. However, in cases in which the influence of total number of themes was eliminated by partial correlation the relationship was not particularly altered. For instance, whereas the correlation between *anxiety* and *adjustment* was $+.23$, this was reduced to $+.21$ when total number of themes was partialled out. Whereas *economic concern* and *adjustment* correlated $-.20$, the correlation became $-.14$ when the total number of themes was partialled out. In the few cases in which the influence of total number of themes was partialled out, the size of the partial correlation was reduced to some extent, but the sign remained the same.

Correlation between Fantasy Themes

In this section the highest correlations, both positive and negative, with each of the themes will be lifted out of Table 18 and briefly commented on.

Family correlated

- + .44 with guilt;
- + .42 with separation;
- + .37 with money;
- + .37 with repentance, reform;
- + .34 with economic concern;
- + .34 with accident, illness;
- + .34 with altruism.

The themes that correlated most highly with *family* indicate that when family was referred to in a story it was part of the emotional insecurity complex. The highest correlation was with guilt. Separation, money, economic concern, accident and illness, and altruism, all indicated the fear of separation and loss of love. Frequent reference to members of the family in stories went with many references to guilt and to repentance and reform which pointed to the need to defend oneself against guilt with regard to attitudes toward members of the family.

Mother correlated

- + .66 with family;
- + .51 with guilt;
- + .39 with separation;
- + .36 with aggression;
- + .36 with repentance, reform.

The correlation + .66 of *mother* with family was in part an artifact, inasmuch as mother was an important element in the theme count under the general heading family. The concern with emotional insecurity was again found in the correlation + .39 with separation. There was high correlation of the theme aggression with the theme mother, indicating the underlying hostility toward the mother which was expressed with much guilt (+ .51) and a positive amount of repentance and reform (+ .36).

Aggression correlated

- + .53 with death;
- + .44 with punishment;

- + .40 with accident, illness;
- + .40 with school;
- + .37 with economic concern;
- + .36 with police;
- + .35 with repentance;
- + .33 with guilt;
- + .31 with money;
- + .28 with depression.

The correlation +.53 of death with *aggression* was also an artifact, inasmuch as death is a theme in the composite, aggression. However, the size of this correlation indicates that there was justification for including death under the general heading aggression, for if the relationship was lacking or negative, it would have been much lower than +.53. Aggression was related to punishment (and its subsidiary, police). Aggression, meaning *taking* or *grasping*, was shown in the correlations to be related to economic concern and money. The influence of aggression turned inward was shown in the high correlations with accident and illness and also depression. That the expression of aggression was consonant with guilt was shown in the positive correlation, but the wish to overcome the guilt and to defend the self against it was shown by the correlation with repentance and reform. It is significant that individuals who made references to school also showed aggressive trends.

Death correlated

- + .53 with aggression;
- + .41 with accident;
- + .37 with police;
- + .34 with economic concern;
- .26 with anxiety.

Death showed the same network of relationships as aggression. However, it is of interest to note that whereas the highest negative correlation with aggression was guilt, that with death was anxiety.

Economic concern correlated

- + .76 with money;
- + .58 with happiness;
- + .48 with success;
- + .45 with altruism, giving, hero;
- + .42 with punishment;

- + .41 with police;
- + .37 with aggression.
- .32 with anxiety

The correlation of +.76 of money with *economic concern* was in part an artifact, inasmuch as money was one theme which contributed to the composite, economic concern. Economic concern was highly related to success. The correlation of +.45 of altruism and economic concern may have come about through the wish to be given things, particularly wealth, or to be saved rather than the wish to give or to save. Not only was there the wish to be given things but also the wish to take aggressively, as shown by the correlation +.37 with aggression, which in turn led to the natural outcome of punishment.

Money correlated

- + .76 with economic concern;
- + .53 with police;
- + .43 with punishment;
- + .40 with excitement;
- .39 with anxiety;
- + .37 with family;
- + .37 with altruistic.

The correlations with *money* indicate that it was not operating in exactly the same way as the theme economic concern. The theme excitement had a high positive correlation with money, inasmuch as many of the stories with high adventure were concerned with stealing or obtaining money. Family and altruism also had high correlation with money, which would indicate that money was part of the emotional security complex and was a sign of security and consequently went with frequent references to the family. It is also of interest that anxiety should have correlated negatively with money and with economic concern.

Punishment correlated

- + .78 with police;
- + .57 with excitement;
- + .44 with aggression;
- + .43 with money;
- + .42 with economic concern;
- + .39 with accident, illness;
- .28 with anxiety.

The correlation of $+.78$ with police was an artifact, inasmuch as police is one of the elements in the composite theme *punishment*. Punishment was a theme which occurred regularly in the adventure story including the elements of excitement and aggression, and frequently the effort to steal money and carrying also the possibility of accident. It is of significance that with this theme, too, there were few references to anxiety. Anxiety may have expressed itself in the tenseness of the punishment situation without being specifically referred to in the story as worry.

Police correlated

- $+.78$ with punishment;
- $+.55$ with excitement;
- $+.53$ with money;
- $+.44$ with accident;
- $+.41$ with economic concern;
- $+.37$ with death;
- $+.36$ with aggression;
- $-.32$ with socialness;
- $-.30$ with anxiety.

Correlations with *police* followed the general pattern of those with punishment and need no further comment.

Separation correlated

- $+.42$ with family;
- $+.39$ with mother;
- $+.25$ with guilt;
- $+.23$ with school;
- $+.22$ with money.

Separation was one of the emotional security group, with high correlations with family, mother, and money. Stories with fantasies of separation also had guilt themes, perhaps because of the erotic yearning which the separation evoked.

Love correlated

- $-.33$ with anxiety;
- $+.30$ with style.

In general, correlations with *love* were low. As a theme it stood much alone. The highest positive correlation was with style. Stories in which themes of love were markedly present were characterized by distinctive style. On the other hand, love correlated $-.33$ with anxiety.

These two themes are incompatible in the same set of stories.

Style correlated

- + .37 with school;
- + .30 with love;
- + .25 with aggression.

Anxiety correlated

- .39 with money;
- .37 with ending;
- + .35 with goodness;
- + .34 with socialness;
- .33 with love;
- .32 with economic concern;
- + .30 with school;
- + .27 with guilt;
- + .23 with badness.

Of all the themes *anxiety* stood most by itself. It had the largest number and most pronounced negative correlations with other themes. In general, stories in which anxiety or worry was expressed had few themes in the emotional security group. It should be remembered that the stories written by the best-adjusted individuals tended to have larger amounts of anxiety and that these individuals were making a good record in school and at home. Evidently these pupils did not have the same need to introduce themes of adventure, romance, or moral concerns into their stories.

Anxiety correlated +.27 with guilt, as was to be expected. Individuals who introduced stories about school showed anxiety in their stories. Anxiety was correlated +.34 with socialness. Referring to individuals who showed this combination, it can be interpreted as anxiety with regard to popularity and social acceptance. These individuals often were exceptionally popular in reality, perhaps as a cover for these doubts and anxiety on this score. The moral conflict was also a source of anxiety, as seen in the positive correlations of anxiety with goodness and badness. It is significant that the negative correlation between anxiety and happiness is only —.17.

Altruism correlated

- + .45 with economic concern;
- + .45 with success;
- + .40 with ending;

- + .37 with money;
- + .35 with repentance;
- + .35 with happiness;
- + .34 with family;
- .29 with anxiety.

The themes which correlated most highly with *altruism* belong in the economic concern and success group. There were in this theme the idea of becoming the hero, of rescuing or saving another person, and of being saved or rescued by someone else. There was a positive correlation with happiness and a negative correlation with anxiety.

Depression correlated

- + .28 with aggression;
- + .28 with badness;
- + .27 with death;
- + .22 with style;
- .22 with altruism.

Depression correlated most highly with the themes of aggression and death, with much concern over them, as seen in the theme badness. Stories in which depression occurred were awkward and rigid, indicating a compulsive trend. There was a negative correlation with altruism. The depressed person was not generous.

Success correlated

- + .48 with economic concern;
- + .45 with altruism;
- + .39 with money;
- + .25 with family;
- + .24 with goodness;
- + .24 with badness.

Success correlated with economic concern and money, with family and altruism. It belonged in the emotional security group. Striving for success was one method of acting to attain security. But success somehow is linked up with concern over goodness and badness.

School correlated

- + .40 with aggression;
- .40 with ending;
- + .37 with style;
- + .30 with anxiety;
- + .25 with socialness.

Individuals who introduced references to *school* into their stories also told stories with themes of aggression and anxiety. These relations are significant of the unconscious attitudes associated with school in the minds of contemporary adolescents. Individuals who introduced themes of school into their stories did not give them happy endings.

Happiness correlated

- + .58 with economic concern;
- + .35 with altruism;
- + .30 with money;
- .22 with ending.

Happiness, like anxiety, was noteworthy because of the large number of negative correlations with other characteristics and the small size of the correlations in general. The highest positive correlation was with economic concern. This seems to have no more significant basis than that in adolescent fantasy happiness is connected with wealth, economic success, having a job, and money. The correlation between altruism and happiness is also the obvious adolescent belief that the helpful person is happy.

Repentance, reform correlated

- + .37 with family;
- + .36 with mother;
- + .35 with altruism;
- + .35 with aggression;
- + .32 with guilt;
- + .30 with success;
- + .24 with accident, illness;
- .21 with depression.

This interesting theme belongs in the superego group. It was highly related to aggression and success. In stories in which themes of repentance and reform were frequent there tended to be reference to guilt, but not to depression. Repentance is linked to guilt as a method of defending the self against it. Depression and reform seem to be opposite and contrasting methods of dealing with guilt.

Accident, illness correlated

- + .44 with police;
- + .41 with death;
- + .40 with aggression;
- + .39 with punishment;

- + .36 with excitement;
- + .35 with money;
- + .32 with success.

This theme occurred in the adventure type of story and was closely related to aggression, punishment, and excitement. As has already been noted, it may have represented a kind of punishment inflicted on the individual by the force of circumstances as a penalty to pay for aggressive behavior.

Socialness correlated

- + .34 with anxiety;
- + .32 with badness;
- .32 with police;
- + .25 with school;
- .25 with money.

As has already been explained, the correlation of anxiety with *socialness* is the anxiety over unpopularity. Badness is associated with socialness through gang membership, which is so often treated as though wicked in these stories.

Ending correlated

- + .40 with excitement;
- + .40 with altruism;
- .40 with school;
- .37 with anxiety.

The happy *ending* occurred in adventure stories high with excitement, in which the hero did a good turn at the end. In stories of this type little anxiety was expressed. It is significant that the happy ending was seldom encountered in stories about school.

Goodness correlated

- + .51 with badness;
- + .39 with guilt;
- + .35 with anxiety;
- .35 with money.
- + .24 with success;
- + .22 with socialness;

It is significant that *goodness* and *badness* went together, as indicated by the correlation +.51. They are frequently paired, and this may indicate the adolescent's concern with the moral problems he faces in his attempt to adjust to social demands. Goodness is associated

with anxiety and guilt and frequently occurs in stories dealing with gangs.

Badness correlated

- + .51 with goodness;
- + .32 with socialness;
- + .28 with depression;
- + .24 with success;
- + .23 with anxiety;
- .23 with police.

The correlations with *badness* are in part a result of the tie between socialness and badness. The correlation of +.32 with socialness probably is largely the result of the fact that concern about goodness and badness is found so often in stories dealing with unfortunate associations, but may also in part reflect the adolescent's belief that having a good time in some way is considered bad.

It is significant that whereas both goodness and badness are associated with anxiety, only goodness is associated with guilt. For some reason stories which show concern about badness also show even less-than-to-be-expected guilt. Perhaps the only concern about badness expressed in the story is a substitute for (or an expression of) guilt.

Guilt correlated

- + .51 with mother;
- + .44 with family;
- + .39 with goodness;
- + .33 with aggression;
- + .32 with repentance;
- + .27 with anxiety;
- + .25 with separation.

That *guilt* occurs in response to unconscious love and aggression is clearly evident in the high positive correlations with mother, family, and aggression. Concern about goodness is associated with guilt. The correlation with anxiety is to be expected. The correlation with repentance may be related to the fact that repentance is one way of mitigating guilt.

Excitement correlated

- + .57 with punishment;
- + .55 with police;
- + .40 with money;
- + .40 with ending;

- + .36 with accident;
- + .30 with economic concern;
- .30 with mother.

This theme belongs in the adventure group. It was strongly related to economic concern and punishment. However, there was a negative correlation with the theme mother.

Correlations with the Sheviakov-Friedberg Questionnaire

In this section correlations of the several variables with the five scores on the Sheviakov-Friedberg Questionnaire will be given. The Sheviakov-Friedberg permits pupils to express their interests in various activities and in contrast with the themes which are the covert, hidden, and unconscious impulses and motives of an individual, the Sheviakov-Friedberg yields the overt, conscious, and expressed interests of the individual.

INTERCORRELATIONS

With the exception of correlation between aggression and family and aggression and relationship with the opposite sex, the correlations between these five scores were high. It is possible that there was an artificial factor in these correlations. The Sheviakov-Friedberg asks for expression of like, dislike, or indifference. Some individuals may have tended to like or dislike preponderantly, and this may have given them consistently large positive or negative scores on each variable which resulted in high positive correlations. There is reason to believe that this was to some extent a factor in these intercorrelations. The high correlation of family with interest in the opposite sex is easily understandable, and the correlation of +.61 of family with authority might indicate the general trend toward submissiveness in the family and high joint interest in these two variables.

CORRELATIONS OF THE SHEVIAKOV-FRIEDBERG WITH ADJUSTMENT

Of these, the highest were correlations of adjustment with aggression and authority. It is not easy to understand how these both could have been related to adjustment. Perhaps they can be explained as indicating that the best-adjusted individual might be he who submits to authority, but feels like "throwing things when he is mad." Characteristically, the best-adjusted adolescents in our culture exhibit ambivalence toward discipline and independence.

CORRELATIONS OF THE SHEVIAKOV-FRIEDBERG WITH TEACHER RATINGS

Table 23 presents the correlations between the Sheviakov-Friedberg Questionnaire and teacher ratings of behavior. These will be discussed by presenting the highest correlations with each of the five interests. These relationships are meaningful and tend to correspond in a positive way in contrast with the correlations with the fantasy material which in general tend to go by opposites.

Variable 34 (interest in aggression) correlated

- .34 with stability-unstability;
- .31 with co-operation-aggression;
- .31 with realism-unrealism.

The correlations with interest in aggression were negative. Those pupils who showed the most interest in aggression were those who were rated by teachers most unfavorably, particularly as being unstable, aggressive, and unrealistic.

Variable 35 (interest in family) correlated

- + .35 with happiness-unhappiness;
- + .28 with total ratings;
- + .25 with realism-unrealism.

Here the correlations were positive. Individuals that showed interest in family tended to be happy and realistic. This variable on the Sheviakov-Friedberg also correlated the highest with the total teacher ratings.

Variable 36 (interest in authority) correlated

- + .28 with security-fearfulness;
- + .25 with happiness-unhappiness.

Pupils who showed interest in yielding to authority also showed positive correlations with teacher ratings. Individuals who showed interest in authority were secure and happy.

Variable 37 (interest in identification) correlated

- .19 with realism-unrealism;
- .17 with security-fearfulness.

Individuals who had a need to seek out the company of others in groups on the whole had negative correlations with teacher ratings. There was some slight tendency for them to be fearful and unrealistic. It was the emotionally insecure pupil who had the need to be with others and like others.

Variable 38 (interest in opposite sex) correlated

+ .17 with realism-unrealism.

Correlations with this variable were low, but on the whole positive. The highest was the relation with teacher ratings for realism. Pupils who stated that they were interested in the opposite sex did a minimum of daydreaming.

CORRELATIONS OF THE SHEVIAKOV-FRIEDBERG WITH FANTASY THEMES

Variable 34 (interest in aggression) correlated

+ .46 with accident, illness;

+ .43 with money;

+ .43 with excitement;

+ .29 with police;

— .22 with happiness;

— .19 with adjustment.

Pupils who showed interest in aggression produced stories with themes in the adventure group, including excitement, money, police, and accident. Pupils with high interest in aggression in general tended to have poor adjustment and to tell stories lacking happiness.

Variable 35 (interest in family) correlated

— .35 with anxiety;

+ .31 with love;

+ .27 with ending;

— .23 with school;

— .21 with death.

Pupils with high interest in family, as might be expected, told stories with erotic themes and happy endings. They showed a minimum of themes of anxiety and death and school.

Variable 36 (interest in authority) correlated

+ .44 with excitement;

+ .39 with accident, illness;

— .34 with anxiety;

+ .32 with repentance, reform;

+ .27 with ending;

— .27 with socialness;

+ .26 with money.

Less to be expected was the fact that children with high interest in authority also told stories in the adventure-excitement group. These

children would, on the whole, tend to be overprotected and might be expected to come from strict homes. Consequently, with less of an outlet for their aggressive impulses in real life, they found opportunity for their expression in their reading and stories. Therefore, many of their stories contained excitement, accident, money, and repentance themes and were low in anxiety. Finding satisfaction in social groups outside the home was negatively related to interest in authority.

Variable 37 (interest in identification) correlated

- + .30 with depression;
- .28 with adjustment;
- + .24 with accident, illness;
- .21 with socialness.

Those who felt the need to be like other people and to be interested in others told stories having themes of depression and accident. One might surmise that in expressing an interest in others there was an unconscious tendency to find outlet for aggressive tendencies by hoping for the worst for others. These individuals also tended to be low in adjustment and socialness.

Variable 38 (interest in opposite sex) correlated

- + .29 with love;
- .20 with anxiety.

Stories by individuals who showed interest in the opposite sex tended also to rate low in anxiety.

Correlations with Age

Age correlated

- + .48 with anxiety;
- + .35 with badness;
- + .20 with aggression;
- + .17 with mother;
- + .25 with teacher ratings of realistic-unrealistic;

and

- .47 with ending;
- .22 with excitement;
- .21 with altruism;
- .28 with interest in opposite sex;
- .26 with interest in family;
- .24 with interest in authority.

On the whole, correlations with age tended to be low, indicating no pronounced change in the type of stories in older adolescents as compared with younger, but there were a few themes which showed substantial correlations with age. Older adolescents in general told more stories having themes of anxiety and aggression, and referred more often to mother. On the other hand, the older adolescents tended to daydream less and to work more consistently, according to teacher ratings. Younger adolescents tended to tell more stories of the adventure type, with themes of excitement and altruism, but with happy endings. The older adolescents were concerned with goodness and badness and were still struggling with the moral issues which confronted them as they matured. These comparisons of the older and the younger agreed with observations made in a gross comparison of the theme counts reported in an earlier section. Younger adolescents were more spontaneous and gave freer and more untrammelled expression to their suddenly expanded impulses. The older adolescents, however, were facing more immediately separation from their families, and anxiety and aggression were more prominently featured.

According to the Sheviakov-Friedberg Questionnaire, the younger adolescents showed more interest in the opposite sex, family, and authority than did the older adolescents. This may not wholly agree with general observation, but it represented the attitudes expressed in response to the questions in the Sheviakov-Friedberg blank.

Correlations with Sex⁴

Sex correlated

- + .44 with realism ratings;
- + .42 with interest in opposite sex;
- + .40 with total teacher ratings;
- + .36 with stability ratings;
- + .32 with co-operation ratings;
- + .23 with theme guilt;
- .54 with theme punishment;
- .44 with theme aggression;
- .40 with theme excitement;

⁴ A plus correlation indicates that girls exceed boys; a minus correlation indicates that boys exceed girls.

- .38 with total number of themes;
- .36 with theme police;
- .36 with theme style;
- .34 with theme economic concern.

The correlations with sex were on the whole low. Boys told stories with more themes of aggression, excitement, punishment, and guilt. The adventure story is typically the boy's story, and the sequence aggression-punishment-guilt was repeated over and over again. There were fewer correlations that favor girls. Girls were rated by their teachers as being more realistic, stable, and co-operative than boys, and they received higher total teacher ratings than boys. This agreed with the common observation that in school boys were less amenable and more often troublemakers than were girls. In the Sheviakov-Friedberg Questionnaire the girls showed interest in the opposite sex more often than did boys, which was in accord with current observations. Girls expressed more guilt in their stories than boys expressed.

Comparison of Symonds and Wexler Correlations

Dr. Wexler, quite independently, drew up a list of 25 themes and checked the presence of each theme in his list for each story for each individual. These data provide a basis for comparing the check-list method of theme analysis with the direct inventory of themes which has been the basis for the discussion throughout this study. Wexler's categories were determined from theoretical considerations growing out of his understanding of dynamic principles of adjustment. In the writer's theme analysis the strict and realistic criterion that a theme to be counted had to be specifically mentioned as such was applied. For instance, anxiety was only counted as anxiety in my analysis when it was practically stated as such in the story. Wexler, on the other hand, designed his categories more meaningfully and would count a theme under a certain category if it apparently had the meaning which he had in mind and defined for this category. Consequently Wexler's theme count was more interpretative than my theme count. There are two checks which can be applied in order to estimate the value of the check list versus the inventory method. One is to compare the correlations of ratings, using these two methods, with the ratings for adjustment, teacher ratings of behavior, and I.Q. The other method is to correlate related items by the Symonds and the Wexler methods.

Following is a list of the twenty-five categories which Dr. Wexler used together with his definitions of them.

1. *Wrongdoing*: Some wrong, sin, evil, mischief, nuisance, vice, harm, or crime is done or committed. Accusation. Its consequence in terms of punishment or reward may be indicated (or vindication).
2. *Rejection*: A person or object is rejected, repudiated, excluded, barred, segregated, expelled, ostracized, exiled, or a person is pleased at absence of someone.
3. *Jealousy*: Someone is jealous, envious, covets what others possess, or reacts to favoritism.
4. *Mistrust*: To be suspicious, mistrustful, doubtful, incredulous, skeptical, curious. To peek, spy, investigate.
5. *Fear*: Fear, timidity, want of confidence, doubt of potency, apprehension, misgivings, despair, terror, shyness, intimidation, panic, worry; and their effects: pallor, palpitation, trembling, fainting.
6. *Separation*: Separation or estrangement from loved object or person, death, loss, parting.
7. *Escape*: Running away, avoidance, avoiding responsibility, retreat from duty, avoiding punishment by dying, avoiding blame.
8. *Hate*: Anger, hate, revenge, rebellion, defiance, bitterness, loathing, contempt, grudge, malice, find repulsive, shrink from, execrate, annoyance, argue with.
9. *Danger*: Danger, suffering, illness, threat to existence or contentment, peril, vulnerability, exposure, jeopardy, risk, ill-omened. (Is this category so linked with fear as to be inseparable? Does this merely represent the situation in which fear is produced—as wrongdoing represents situation in which punishment is produced?) Accidents.
10. *Domination*: Domination, cruelty, subjection, authorization, control.
11. *Persecution*: Persecution, unjust accusation, injustice, themes of reference, unjust treatment.
12. *Isolation*: Isolation, loneliness, hermitage, seclusion, estrangement from the world, aloofness, unsociability, hopelessness, unfriended (friendless), outside the gates, uncared for.
13. *Conscience*: Torments of conscience, repentance, reform, scruples, fastidiousness, squeamishness, duty, regret, retribution.
14. *Sacrifice*: Self-denial for others, martyrdom, masochistic suffering, self-immolation, altruism.
15. *Commendation*: Praise, approval, reward for action, prize, plaudits, honors, acclaim, rightdoing, obedience.
16. *Security*: Wealth, job, acquisition of money, defended, protected, adopted, cared for, shielded, evoke interest.

17. *Insecurity*: Poverty, loss of money, impotence, weakness, loss of job, defenseless, uncared for, pregnable, inept, incompetence, helplessness, homelessness, without parents, failure.
18. *Benefaction*: Philanthropy, donation, contribution, kindness, gift, charity.
19. *Power*: Omnipotence, power, virility, potency, strength, confidence, achieving success by effort, superman, overcoming obstacles, or rivals by own ability or capacity, champion, hero, saviour, rescuer, succorance, idol of people, overvaluation of ego, magic, independence, health.
20. *Ideal*: Choice of ideal, goal, aim, perfection, model person, standard.
21. *Love*: Love, marriage, engagement, affection, interest in person, attraction to person, charm, popularity, infatuation, adoration, gallantry, passion, sex relations, friendship.
22. *Restoration*: After a separation, loss, disappearance, absence of a person or object a reunion or restoration takes place. A sick or injured person recovers and is restored to friends or relatives. Absent friend or relative heard from. After argument make up.
23. *Depression*: Feelings of tiredness, despair, sadness, gloom.
24. *Happiness*: Happiness, joy, cheer.
25. *Social Distinctions*: Based on wealth, prestige, social position, caste, class, privileges, advantages, shortcomings, incapacity, disability of others.

Inspection of the correlations with adjustment teacher ratings of behavior and I.Q. does not show any pronounced advantage for either the Symonds or the Wexler method of theme analysis. The reader may note the comparisons by scanning Tables 24-31.

A few comments will be made on the correlation of certain items from the Symonds theme analysis with the Wexler theme analysis. Wexler had no one category called "aggression." However, a number of Wexler categories correlate substantially with Symonds' theme of aggression, among them being "wrongdoing," "hate," "domination," "persecution," and "power." It is interesting that the one Wexler theme which correlates highest with the Symonds theme of aggression is "conscience," which indicates how dynamically interrelated in the stories aggression is with the superego and guilt reactions. Another significant correlation of + .40 relates the Wexler theme of insecurity and the Symonds theme of aggression. In part this may indicate the sequence of aggression following frustration, and in part it represents the outcome of aggression. The seven Wexler themes mentioned above

are substantially interrelated, indicating a cluster among the Wexler categories.

Of the Wexler themes having the highest correlation with the Symonds theme of anxiety we find fear (+.54), as was to be expected. Less obvious, however, is the correlation of +.46 between Wexler depression and Symonds anxiety. This is to be compared with the correlation of +.10 when the Symonds theme of depression is correlated with the Symonds theme of anxiety.

On the other hand, we find that the correlation of the Symonds anxiety with Wexler danger is -.33. The opposite correlation of Wexler's fear and Wexler's danger with Symonds anxiety is to be noted, particularly in view of the fact that the two Wexler categories have a small, but positive, correlation (+.16). The highest correlations of danger in the Wexler group are with hate and domination. Danger, therefore, appears to belong more specifically to the group of aggressive themes, whereas fear represents a different form of response. Symonds anxiety correlates -.51 with Wexler power, illustrating still further the opposite character of the aggressive and anxiety responses in the story material.

Symonds guilt correlates only +.08 with Wexler conscience. On the face of it, it would be assumed that these two themes should be highly correlated. As a matter of fact, Wexler domination and Wexler power correlate more highly with Symonds guilt (+.25 and +.22, respectively) than does Wexler conscience.

Symonds repentance correlates +.44 with Wexler conscience, +.42 with Wexler domination, and +.35 with Wexler wrongdoing. Symonds repentance, therefore, is more like Wexler conscience than is Symonds guilt. Symonds repentance tends to be related to the Wexler aggressive series.

Symonds success correlates +.45 with Wexler power, +.31 with Wexler security, +.18 with Wexler insecurity, +.24 with Wexler love, and +.10 with Wexler domination. All these Wexler themes are positively interrelated. Symonds success, therefore, is related to Wexler themes of security and insecurity, which are a part of his power and domination group.

Symonds depression correlates +.25 with Wexler depression and +.30 with Wexler persecution.

Symonds love correlates with Wexler love +.53.

Finally, Symonds punishment correlates substantially with the group of Wexler items including danger (+.70), conscience (+.63), wrongdoing (+.62), hate (+.60), persecution (+.47), and power (+.45). Symonds punishment, therefore, belongs to the Wexler aggression group and is part of the dynamic sequence which includes frustration, aggression, and punishment.

From the foregoing correlations between Symonds and Wexler themes it may be seen that in no case is the correspondence close and that frequently two themes with apparently different meanings will correlate more highly than two themes with the same name or closely allied meanings. This would indicate that one cannot place too much confidence on the name given to a theme in a theme analysis, but should inquire as to how the theme is defined and the method used in determining its presence.

X. FINAL SELECTION OF PICTURES, WITH DATA ON THE FANTASY VALUE OF THE PICTURES

ONE OF THE AIMS of this study was to prepare a set of pictures for general use as a projective technique. Although 42 pictures were used experimentally in this study, it could not be expected that clinical psychologists could afford the time to use all of them in practical work. Although our results show that the fantasy level rises with the later stories in the series and that the most significant fantasies were not achieved until after the twentieth story, still it is believed that by using the pictures which elicited the best stories, worthwhile results could be achieved by preparing a set of twenty pictures.

Four criteria were used in evaluating the pictures: that picture was best that (1) produced stories with the largest number of themes, (2) yielded the most important stories, (3) was judged best by those who used them all, (4) was used most often in the manuscript of this monograph for illustrative purposes.

The forty-two pictures were ranked according to these four criteria. For the first criteria the theme count provided the necessary data. For the second criterion Mrs. Chamoulaud and the writer independently went through the cases and each picked out the three seemingly most significant themes for each case. The pictures which included these themes were tallied, and rankings were made on the basis of the sum of these tallies. The rankings of the two workers were added together, and a new ranking was found from the sum. For the third criterion Wexler, Silverman, and the writer each rated the pictures on a five-point scale as to their power to elicit stories. These ratings were summed, and from the sums rankings were ascertained. For the fourth criterion tallies were made of the use of each picture for illustration in this monograph, and rankings were made of these sums. Finally, these four sets of rankings were added, and a new set of rankings were made from this composite.

The twenty highest-ranking pictures (with certain adjustments)

were selected for the series. Series A contains pictures 11-20; Series B, pictures 1-10. Series A is recommended for a first sitting; Series B, for a second sitting. The most productive pictures were in the second series, because experience shows that late in the series resistances are lowered and fantasies become more full and meaningful. If only one series can be used, series B is recommended.¹

Both Series A and Series B include pictures having male and female subjects, since our experience shows that stories can be told by either sex from pictures of either boys or girls. Actually, whereas there is slightly more production of fantasy when the figures in the pictures are of the same sex as that of the person being tested, it is believed that fantasies have deeper meaning when the figure in the picture is of the opposite sex from that of the person being tested.

The data were further analyzed in order to determine (1) the relative contribution of each picture to each of the themes and (2) the themes which were produced with greatest frequency by each picture. After a tabulation of the theme counts by pictures was made, a table of "independence values" for the theme count for each picture was determined, based upon the formula

$$Th_{(a,b)} = \frac{N_a \cdot N_b}{N_{(ab)}}$$

where, $Th_{(a,b)}$ = independence value;

a = number of the picture;

b = number of the theme.

¹ For the benefit of those who wish to compare the pictures in the Symonds Picture-Story Test (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1948) with the data concerning the pictures given in this report in Appendix D, the old and new numbers for the pictures are given

<i>Symonds Picture-Story Test Series A</i>	<i>Numbers of Pictures As Given in This Book</i>	<i>Symonds Picture-Story Test Series B</i>	<i>Numbers of Pictures As Given in This Book</i>
A 1	18	B 1	23
A 2	25	B 2	29
A 3	3	B 3	19
A 4	20	B 4	41
A 5	28	B 5	38
A 6	26	B 6	22
A 7	17	B 7	39
A 8	33	B 8	31
A 9	32	B 9	9
A 10	8	B 10	42

Differences were then taken between the actual theme count for a given picture and the independence value, and this was taken as a measure of the degree to which stories told to test pictures tended to include the theme in question. For example, picture 19 yielded 34 stories with themes of aggression. The independence value for aggression for picture 19 was 21. The difference, +13, indicates that picture 19 yielded a greater-than-expected frequency of stories with aggressive themes.

Tables showing the three highest themes for each story and the three stories which yielded the greatest positive divergence from independence values for each theme are included in Appendix D. These tables are presented for reference and research purposes. The reader will not be able to understand them well without arduous reference to the pictures themselves. A brief summary statement of the obvious significance of these results, based on an over-all perusal of them, may be of some assistance. The themes that any picture typically draws forth are seen to be the obvious ones—those which would naturally be expected. For instance, picture 5, a youth who has turned around to watch a boy and a girl in companionable walking posture elicits themes of love, sociability, and jealousy. Picture 9, showing a figure in a jail cell, the spire of a church being visible between the bars of the window in the distance, yields themes of aggression, punishment, and reform. Picture 15, in which a man is pointing a finger at a boy who is facing him, yields themes of aggression, school, and reform. Obviously this picture is interpreted frequently as a school teacher or principal disciplining a pupil. Picture 18, in which a youth is standing alone, with hat and bag in hand, surrounded by tall buildings, yields themes of separation, economic concern, and success. Picture 19, which portrays the heads of two youths, one with a cigarette in his mouth, results in themes of aggression, punishment, reform, and badness. Picture 22, of a youth slouched disconsolately in a chair, brings forth themes of depression, economic concern, and separation. Picture 34, which shows a girl looking at a calendar dated May 20 and marked "examinations," elicits stories having themes of school, anxiety, and success. Picture 41, which shows a woman giving her attention to the prettier and better dressed of two young girls, yields themes of jealousy, family relationships, and love.

These are some examples of the themes which stories produce

in excess of expectancy. This makes it possible to hazard the two hypotheses that (1) individuals who produce the themes which would normally occur in stories with less than the chance expectancy possess the corresponding tendencies in pronounced degree, and (2) individuals who fail to produce themes in stories in which these themes would normally occur in excess of chance expectancy are either repressing those themes, do not possess the trends which the themes represent, or are indifferent to such themes.

The use of this analysis of expectancy of theme by picture in the diagnosis of individual cases is shown in the following examples.

Aggression

Catherine (case 12) failed to include themes of aggression in stories 4, 11, 14, 19, 21, stories in which aggression is found above chance expectancy. This girl tells bizarre and disordered stories, filled with fear and anxiety. Actually she is reported to have a violent temper on occasions, and in school she tends to be argumentative and to speak out of turn. Otherwise she is quiet and unobtrusive. This indicates that she has repressed aggression so far as her fantasies are concerned, but finds many opportunities to express it in her actual social relations.

Harold (case 5), on the other hand, so many times described in this report, includes aggressive themes in stories 5, 25, and 34, stories which ordinarily are free from aggression. He is described as being a sissy and a fairy—polite, co-operative, calm, and quiet.

Punishment

Viola (case 14) fails to include punishment themes in stories 4, 9, 13, 36, stories in which punishment is expected to occur. This girl tells masochistic stories, in which the hero (or heroine) dies, suffers, or is a failure. Actually, this girl is very successful, is well spoken of by teachers, who describe her as mature, dependable, and co-operative.

Fred (case 35), on the other hand, includes themes of punishment in stories based on pictures 14, 17, and 18, which ordinarily do not bring out punishment themes. This boy's stories show strong, but repressed, sex wishes. He is irritated by home restrictions, is tempted to revolt, with death wishes toward his father, but these fantasies are followed by feelings of guilt and a desire for self-punishment. In real

life he shows homosexual tendencies. He hugs his father, cooks, and cleans house, but in school he is a leader and fond of athletics.

Anxiety

Many individuals fail to include anxiety themes in stories 1, 34, and 42, in which this theme may normally be expected. In general, we find that these are rejected and immature boys and girls, but it is impossible to find a single pattern that runs throughout their stories.

Chester (case 34), on the other hand, includes themes of anxiety in stories 20 and 23, in which this theme is not ordinarily found. He is an only child, and since his father is away from home much of the time, he is very close to his mother. His stories indicate feelings of inadequacy. He is the passive victim of events. He would like to be strong and successful, but he fears losing his mother.

These examples show how trends in the stories can be easily identified by noting the occurrence of certain themes in response to pictures which do not ordinarily call forth such themes or the nonoccurrence of the items for which the incidence is usually high.

XI. SIGNIFICANCE OF FANTASY IN PERSONALITY

AN UNDERSTANDING of whatever relation exists between fantasy and personality is necessary if the picture-story method is to be used diagnostically. To assume that the themes expressed in the stories represent surface trends in the individual is entirely too naïve, or at least it demands verification by empirical comparison of the stories with the personalities of actual individuals. In this chapter I shall summarize the results of the present investigation as far as it sheds light on this problem and propose a theoretical basis for the relationship disclosed.

First of all, it can be said that the study has demonstrated that the picture-story method is a projective technique. It is possible to find correspondences between themes in the stories and traits in the individuals telling them. It is also possible to find themes in the stories which are manifestly the opposite of traits in the individual telling them. In these instances the story themes may be projections of repressed impulses in the individual which he camouflages by reaction formations in his personality. In each projection the individual telling the story identifies himself with characters in his stories, clothing them with characteristics and traits which are his own overt or covert trends. But in so doing the necessity of disguising the similarity of the characters in the stories to himself is so strong that a variety of mechanisms is used. Identifications easily cross sex lines to accomplish such disguises, or the identification is with an older or younger person or some other individual not shown in the picture at all. However, every such identification not only helps to disguise the projection, but indicates a more deeply repressed trend in itself. For instance, when a boy identifies with a female figure in a story he is not only permitting the expression of his feelings by a character far removed from his own, but he is also showing the possibility of feminine identification and the expression of the other half of a bi-sexual trend in himself. But the

projection may be further disguised by other displacements, reversals, disguises, and symbolizations.

If personality is a very complex and highly structured organization of behavioral trends, then fantasy can be thought of as one element in this organization. The question then becomes: How is fantasy related to other elements in the personality organization? Behavior is a direct attempt to satisfy accumulated needs, but almost from the beginning of life needs themselves take on organization, structure, and pattern. Inevitably, needs conflict, so that behavior is the attempt not simply to satisfy needs but also to do so in such a way as to resolve the conflicts between them—that is, to satisfy more than one need at a time. As personality develops in response to life situations various mechanisms are tried out as ways of meeting these conflicting tendencies. If adjustment methods are realistic and rational, if they lead to better relations to the world and make a person more effective and permit him to become more mature, we call them “normal.” If adjustment methods are inadequate, if they reduce a person’s effectiveness, worsen his relationships, cause him to become fixated in immature behavioral patterns or to regress to those on a still more immature level, we call them neurotic. A person develops patterns or types of adjustment depending on the nature of his relations to those on whom he most depends—members of his family. He tries only one “solution” at a time, and he does not find it easy to shift from one type of solution to another.

If a person works out his problems in overt behavior, he does not find it necessary to work them out in fantasy—and if he works them out in fantasy, he is not bound to express them in reality. It is for this reason that seldom were the characters in a person’s stories replicas of the person himself in real life. More often the story characters represented his otherwise unexpressed longings and fears, the person he would like to be or the person he fears to be, the neighbor or schoolmate whom he has secretly admired, the gangster, criminal, or adventurer that he has secretly longed to be. In short, adjustment methods are mutually exclusive. What the person dreams of being, he need not be; what he is, he needs not dream of being.

Fantasy and behavior may function at several levels, somewhat as follows:

1. At the top level there is direct correspondence between fantasy

and personality which the individual himself recognizes. The person tells a story about himself and recognizes it as such. For instance, Albert (case 40) told a story (given on page 115) about himself and recognized it as such. In his associations to this story Albert says, "I had somewhat same experience in which I felt I really wasn't in a position in which a girl cared for me, but she was a little too friendly to say anything to hurt me."

2. One step below is the case in which the individual recognizes himself in the story, but attributes it to the past and asserts that he has changed and that circumstances have changed. He avoids recognizing the actions and emotions as pertaining to himself in the present. Stella (case 19) tells the following story:

This girl going out. She has to wait an hour and is thinking of what they are going to do. She plans more lavishly than other girls and is disappointed when the thing turns out to be a small affair. From that incident she learns to expect the least and then get more than she expected rather than getting less. (Stella, case 19, story 30)

In her associations she says about this story: "This is myself. It happened when I went to a party and was disappointed. Now I expect little and am not disappointed." Stella told the most matter-of-fact and realistic set of stories of any among the forty cases and she was able to relate herself to them in many of her associations.

3. Again, a narrator may tell a story which is avowedly a fantasy—a wish that certain events may happen in the future—but one that is accepted by him as his own. Albert (case 40), for instance, told the following story.

This boy has just quit school because father unemployed. He wasn't doing well in school and was glad to have an excuse to leave. On first day out both father and son go out looking for employment, but they are turned down from every angle and do not succeed. The boy's mother has been dead for many years, and since there are only two of them they start drifting from city to city, picking up odd jobs, but on whole just managing to keep together, alive. The father is used to this life, but the boy grows bitter at his misfortune. He finally goes off the deep end and commits a few petty crimes. He feels this is only way to even self up with society. He figures society to blame for failure. That's all. (Albert, case 40, story 16)

In his associations, he says "I thought at times if I ever was desperate and didn't have anything more to live for, I might turn to crime."

4. At a still deeper level a boy describes himself, with some displacement, perhaps, but fails to recognize himself in the story. Jerome (case 7), for instance, tells the following story.

Say this girl, she's pretty smart in school and makes a fairly good average. She may go out nights. She mayn't do all her studies. She knows exams are coming, for she marked it on calendar. She looks at it and wonders should she go out to movies or study. She goes to movies and fails exams. Now she looks back at calendar and wishes she stayed home and studied for exam. (Jerome, case 7, story 34)

According to Jerome's life history this story has strong resemblances in many respects to the narrator, who is slack in his school work and, while possessing good ability, has a mediocre school record. But when he was asked in the association period the source of this story, he replied: "Search me."

5. At the same level a story may relate fantasies, impulses, feelings, wishes, or motives of the narrator, but they may not be recognized as such. Such fantasies have not worked themselves out in behavior; on the contrary, reaction formations have been set up against them in the personality. An illustration will not be given here, as this has been amply illustrated elsewhere in this monograph. In the associations to a story a boy will generally say that he does not know where the story came from, or he may say that he drew on some movie, book, or radio skit that he recently saw, read, or heard. Occasionally anxiety arising from the recognition of unconscious elements in the story will be evidenced in the association period by comments such as "And did I say that?" or "That's a silly story" or "I must have had a bad dream last night."

The potent nature of the reaction formation against fantasies is found in the following story told by Fred (case 35) and in his associations to it.

She had never talked things over with mother before. She had always just said, "I'm going out now Mom," but never bothered to tell her where or why. She got to thinking about it one day. It was after she visited her girl friends' house. When her girl friend said she was going out, her mother showed interest in where she was going and when she left wished her a good time. This never happened to her. It was always "I'm just going out Mom." No questions were asked. She got to thinking. It was her fault, for she was always rushing some place in hurry, and since her

mother worked, she was too tired when she came home at seven to inquire about daughter's activities. She suddenly realized that for the last few months she had hardly seen mother. It was always a hello-goodbye affair. She decided to really find out what her mother was like. She really turned over a new leaf. (Fred, case 35, story 38)

In his associations he says: "My own mom. I know a lot of fellows who can go out just like that. Not me. I've got to ask permission and do a lot of explaining before I go out."

In this interesting and informative example Fred is so intent on denying that he can go out without first securing permission that he fails to say that he would like to do so. Here a reaction formation lies uncovered and visible. In most instances, however, the individual can recognize neither his own unconscious wishes nor the fact that in his own situation he acts and feels contrary to these deeper impulses and tendencies.

In many cases at this level the personal reference is further hidden by various displacements, many of which have already been elucidated in previous sections. Not only is there the shift of sex and age but also a more intimate relationship (father, mother, brother or sister) is shifted to a more distant one in the story (criminal, gangster, policeman, bus driver, magician, wealthy man, etc.). The boys' own wishes are also given substance by making them the property of various characters in the stories. Accordingly, in the associations there are frequent references to "aunt," "uncle," "cousin," "neighbor," "the boy across the street," "a teacher in school," "a classmate in school," "someone in the news," or a character in a movie or radio skit. When in his association period a boy sees the character in the story as representing the boy across the street, he fails to note that he has identified himself with him, envies him, envies his advantages, sees his neighbor's fate as one that he himself deserves. Nor does he recognize that his lot is so different from the boy across the street, or his personality and character quite the opposite.

6. At still deeper levels, the themes in the stories refer not only to present conflicts but also to repressed wishes and drives which had their origin in the past, perhaps in infancy. These may be disguised by symbolism whose connection with the trends which they represent is even less obvious than in the disguises already mentioned. These may indicate dependency needs arising from oral frustrations, the

need to control, growing out of frustrations in the process of toilet training or feelings of inadequacy growing out of relations with parents. But to penetrate to these levels of personality by the picture-story method is so hypothetical and so far removed from the personality trends that could be used in psychotherapy at the beginning of the process that it is probably impractical and unwise to attempt such speculation.

There are three conclusions to be drawn from this attempt to describe the implications of a knowledge of fantasy in order to understand personality. First, the stories derived from the picture-story method are most revealing when interpreted dynamically, that is, by assuming that they are projections of trends within the individual and then attempting to understand them in the light of all the possible transformations and disguises by which an individual protects himself from the anxiety which facing his unacceptable drives would arouse. But this interpretation at best is hypothetical and should always be made tentatively and subject to revision. Any interpretation should be made in relation to the case material available about the individual. For instance, a story in which a boy feels lonely in a large city should be related to the fact that his father is dead and he is living as a state ward with a guardian (Jack, case 4). The full significance of the story material is realized only when it is related to the life material of the individual.

The second conclusion is that the same dynamic principles explain the personality and adjustments of well-adjusted and successful individuals or of poorly adjusted individuals. It is commonly believed that Freudian mechanisms may help to explain the behavior and the attitudes of neurotic individuals, but that normal individuals are governed by reason and a more direct attempt to meet problems as they arise. However, the study of fantasy material of normal, well-adjusted individuals, as well as of less well-adjusted individuals, points to the fact that their behavioral and personality trends, even to small details, are governed by their needs and an attempt to satisfy them. It is not only the withdrawnness, feelings of inferiority, lack of responsibility, and annoyingness of the neurotic that have a dynamic explanation. Qualities of leadership, friendliness, diligence, and studiousness serve to satisfy basic needs, again even to the finest detail.

The third conclusion is that these trends in an individual that are

revealed by the picture-story method are not superficial, transitory, fly-by-night trends, here today and gone tomorrow, but represent persisting trends in the individual. This has its implications for education. If a boy shows high ambition in his fantasy but is a failure in real life, one should not expect to be able to remedy the situation readily by direct, straight-aim methods. These trends are anchored in the individual by deep-seated needs, and they can be altered only to the extent that the needs are met and realized, or the individual finds some alternative way of attempting to meet them. Education must make long-term plans for taking care of the unfulfilled needs shown by the picture-story method.

XII. IMPLICATIONS OF FANTASY FOR COUNSELING AND PSYCHOTHERAPY

*F*OR THE COUNSELOR engaged in psychotherapy a knowledge of a client's fantasy is of the utmost importance. The counselor has the task of helping a person to achieve better adjustment—and in as far as fantasy is a factor in his maladjustment (and it frequently is a factor), it is essential that the counselor should become informed as early as possible as to the nature of the client's fantasies.

The statement above that knowledge of a client's fantasy by the counselor (and later by the client himself) is essential in effective psychotherapy has been challenged by those who subscribe to the Rogers school of thought. Rogers¹ has consistently maintained that a counselor should not give his attention to or be concerned with content. "The counselor must be prepared to respond, not to the intellectual content of what the person is saying, but to the feeling which *underlies* it"; and later, "Our knowledge in the field of personality study has been much advanced by various devices—inkblots, series of pictures, the use of toys to construct dramatic situations, as well as the more familiar devices of paper and pencil tests. Are there any devices which can be used to accelerate therapy or to insure more adequate facing of real problems? It would seem to the writer that there are relatively few such devices as yet."² Roger's point of view is that the counselor need not be acquainted with a client's fantasy life in order to launch into a program of psychotherapy for him, for therapy is essentially a process. The revelation of a client's fantasies may be a by-product of the therapeutic process, but is not essential to it.

Quite the opposite point of view is that announced by Alexander and French. They say, "There are pressing considerations that should

¹ C. R. Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942, p. 37-38.

² *Ibid.*, p. 165.

demand of the analyst a very active intellectual initiative toward the goal of arriving at an adequate dynamic formulation just as soon as possible. . . . An important reason for attempting an early and comprehensive formulation is the need, as soon as possible, to sketch out a therapeutic plan. . . . The analyst during this period (first few hours of an analysis) may be compared to a traveler standing on top of a hill overlooking the country through which he is about to journey. At this time it may be possible for him to see his whole anticipated journey in perspective."³ It is the writer's opinion that this is the more defensible point of view.

Rogers⁴ later says, "Not infrequently the major patterns of reaction are relatively clear to the counselor at the end of the first or second interview. . . . The counselor will do well to refrain, however, from giving interpretations of the client's behavior, the elements of which are based, not on the client's expressed feelings, but on the counselor's judgment of the situation."⁵ In short, the counselor does not need an early acquaintance with the client's unexpressed fantasies, because he must make no use of them. This is a primitive conception of the personality needs which psychotherapy attempts to alleviate.

Today many psychiatrists seek all the diagnostic helps they can command before embarking on a process of treatment. For years David Levy—a child analyst—has insisted, as a preliminary to treatment, on having a Rorschach of every patient whom he treats. More and more psychiatrists are finding the Rorschach of value in revealing the depth and the nature of the disturbance, the presence of anxiety, and the character of the controls. Frequently, to be sure, the Rorschach is used solely for classification purposes, but increasingly it is being used as a preliminary guide to therapy.

In the same way the Thematic Apperception Test is also being used by clinical psychologists to aid in the diagnosis of mental patients as an adjunct of the work of the psychiatrist. Rapaport⁶ has included both the Rorschach and the Thematic Apperception Test in his program of clinical diagnostic testing at the Menninger Clinic. To be sure, he is mainly interested in the quality of the response rather than

³ Alexander Franz and T. M. French, *Psychoanalytic Therapy*, New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1946, pp. 109-110.

⁴ Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy*, p. 195.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁶ Rapaport and others, *Diagnostic Psychological Testing*, Vols. I-II.

in the content, but the content is in the stories, to be used as the psychiatrist sees fit.

Perhaps the place of a knowledge of fantasy in the counseling room can best be understood by a review of the nature of psychological maladjustment and of neurotic disturbance. A neurosis represents an unsatisfactory attempt at personality adjustment. A neurosis is always precipitated by some current frustration. Needs are aroused for which there is no adequate satisfaction, and the individual in his search for solutions to his difficulty is thrown back on earlier forms of adjustment, in the hope that what was tried on a former occasion may work in the present emergency (a process called regression). These earlier childish, or even infantile, responses have been repressed, but in re-enacting them the subject breaks through the repression. But these more primitive forms of expression will be opposed by standards (superego) that have been learned in the process of development. A conflict ensues between the forces seeking expression and those attempting to repress the tendencies which are stimulated. This conflict between basic drives and superego forces gives rise to guilt, and the resulting compromise neurotic behavior is in essence a kind of self-punishment to assuage the guilt which has been aroused.

The same frustrating factors—namely, frustration, repression, or a failure of mastery—which cause a neurosis may also give rise to fantasy. Indeed, in many instances the neurotic symptom is the outward expression of some inward fantasy. Fantasy is not merely a passing thought, but represents the mental equivalent of a drive. Fantasy is the impulse toward action. To the extent, therefore, to which the problem the client presents is neurotic, it is essential that the fantasy which underlies it be revealed both to the counselor and to the client. Awareness of the fantasy is necessary in order to resolve the neurotic conflict and to absolve the client from guilt and the need for crippling self-punishment. A neurosis represents a regression to infantile modes of adjustment, partly because it is based on infantile fantasies.

What can be learned from the stories that might help in counseling? The stories will indicate the nature of a person's identifications, particularly whether fundamentally with the male or with the female. They will show the strength of the aggressive and love tendencies, whether the individual is active or passive with regard to them, and toward whom they are directed. They will show the presence, nature,

and depth of anxiety. They will indicate strivings for mastery or submission, the tendencies toward rivalry and jealousy, and the nature of affectional ties, inner conflicts, tensions, doubts, and indecisions. In particular, they will reveal the individual's conflict over the problem of good and bad. They will indicate his feelings of guilt, inferiority, and inadequacy. They will show tendencies toward self-punishment in incidents of failure, accident, illness, and injury, to strive and succeed with buoyancy and optimism, or to strive and fail with depression. They will show a proneness toward repentance and reform and the need to be kind, charitable, generous, helpful, and forgiving, and the motives underlying these trends will be made evident. They will indicate the nature of the Oedipus relationship. They will point to unresolved infantile anal and oral needs. In short, the stories will help to reveal some of the elements in the dynamic structure of personality, and in so doing will provide the counselor and therapist with clues as to the nature of the neurotic difficulty and some of the new relationships which the client must achieve within his personality in order to effect a more satisfactory adjustment. Rogers would leave the achievement of this reorganization entirely to the client, the counselor serving as a catalyst in the process. Consideration of the nature of neurotic disturbances lead to the conclusion that with an understanding of the dynamic structure of the personality the wise counselor can give direction as well as impetus to the therapeutic process.

However, Roger's cautions with regard to the too-direct use of a knowledge of fantasy are entirely justified. To proceed in counseling by first using the picture-story method to gain insight concerning the dynamic structure of an individual and then to tell the client the conclusions reached would be naïve and tragic, indeed. There are good and sufficient reasons why the client does not already know these facts, even though he has lived with himself since birth and has been accessible to himself for observation and study, namely, that they are too dangerous and tend to arouse too much anxiety. Every individual has raised typical defenses which help him to ignore unacceptable tendencies and impulses within himself. As Rogers points out, to attempt bluntly to acquaint a person with his dynamic tendencies would serve only to increase the strength of his defenses against them

and make them still more inaccessible in the unconscious, which would defeat the very therapeutic process by which the client can work out more satisfactory adjustments.

No, the process of counseling must proceed by indirection. The client must be encouraged to react and to respond, and as he gains confidence in the counselor he can gradually tolerate a self-revision of his concept of himself. The direction of his new personality pattern need not be left to chance, but can be steered by the insights already acquired by the counselor. The use of the picture-story method should help the counselor to acquire these insights.

Reference to the procedures in psychotherapy as described in the book by Alexander and French⁷ will illustrate this point. In some cases the ego is sufficiently strong to be able to accept truths about himself without having to reject them, disguise them, or project them onto someone else. In discussing successful brief contact counseling they say

that good results were achieved in such a short time was due, no doubt, to a favorable combination of circumstances in each case—the physician's ability to see at once the precipitating difficulty in relation to the patient's total personality, the capacity of the patient's ego for insight and his ability to use this insight to make changes in his life, and the ready confidence of the patient in the therapist who, for definite reasons in each case, seemed particularly fitted to help that particular patient.

Margaret Gerard, in discussing a group of cases, says:

In picking out a specific emotional conflict as the basis of the symptom formation in a particular case, the therapist does not mean to imply that this simplified emotional problem is the only one integrated into the personality structure. For purposes of treatment, however, attention is focused on the main problem. (Pp. 233, 234)

In three cases, interpretation of personality conditions was based in part upon information derived from the history of the patients, from their behavior, and from dreams when they were presented, and in part upon scientific knowledge of the causative factors of certain syndromes. . . . This knowledge of the structure of the cases made it possible to formulate the psychodynamics of the individual case quickly and to shorten the therapeutic period by eliminating the months of free association which would be necessary if the dynamic pattern had to be reconstructed from

⁷ *Psychoanalytic Therapy*, p. 143.

the words of the patient alone. This knowledge is the therapist's "reference book," and as such is highly important in determining his whole plan of treatment. Interpretation to the patient was timed according to his capacity to endure the resultant emotional release. (Pp. 261, 262)

The stories from the picture-story method would have also served a similar purpose in throwing light on the "psychodynamics of the case."

Dr. Adelaide McFadyen Johnson, in commenting on her methods, emphasizes the selective process in guiding the therapy. She says:

The first case to be discussed illustrates that it is sometimes possible, following an early, careful exploration, to isolate a nuclear situation in a patient's life which has immediate bearing on the present acute illness. By concentrating one's attention in this conflict, ignoring all lesser disturbances, the way may be for a resumption of growth in a relatively short time. (P. 293)

Again,

a therapist can, from the first interview, cautiously direct the treatment through the resolution of a deep and widespread personality problem with psychosomatic expression, if he understands the fundamental dynamics of the disorder. (P. 299)

Again,

the following case illustrates, even more clearly than the one just reported, the need to evaluate the clinical picture early, and, if need be, to limit therapy drastically with regard to analysis of underlying conflicts. (P. 319)

Dr. Thomas M. French sums up very ably when he says:

The temptation is very great merely to treat the patient's problems as he brings them to us and thus, as it were, to let the patient drift into an analysis. Such a planless therapy obviously entails the danger that the therapist may later find himself involved in unanticipated difficulties. It is highly important, therefore, to outline as soon as possible a comprehensive therapeutic plan, to attempt to visualize in advance (even if only tentatively) just what we shall attempt with a patient, what we hope to accomplish, and in particular what complications we expect and how we plan to deal with them. . . . In order to do this, it is necessary first, of course, to make a dynamic formulation of the patient's problem. (P. 110)

Enough has been said to make it plain that a knowledge of the dynamic structure of a client's personality is highly important in planning psychotherapy. The statement made at the beginning of this chapter is repeated here with greater emphasis as a conclusion: for the counselor engaged in psychotherapy, a knowledge of a client's fantasy is of the utmost importance.

XIII. CHARACTERISTICS OF ADOLESCENT FANTASY

ONE OF THE PURPOSES of this study was to reveal the nature of adolescent fantasy, and this goal has been adequately accomplished. The 1680 stories collected have made it possible to secure a comprehensive and accurate picture of the fantasies which float through the adolescent mind. It is of interest to compare these fantasies with the description of adolescent youth as shown by direct observation of them.

Themes of *aggression* and *love* are practically universal in adolescents. Every adolescent boy and girl in this study told at least three stories including themes of aggression. Seventeen boys and nineteen girls included at least three themes of love in their stories.

Aggression in the stories ranged from mild criticism and rebuke to robbery and murder. Many stories were built around themes of violence leading to destruction and death, often of a criminal nature. These stories were told with remarkable *sang froid*. Even boys (and girls too) who apparently were mild and gentle in real life told stories filled with destructive violence. Occasionally a boy would gasp with surprise, when a story was repeated to him, that he should have been the producer of a story filled with such thoughts of violent aggression, and he would accept the fact with an obvious tinge of annoyance and anxiety.

With almost equal universality both boys and girls included stories with themes of *love* expressed in episodes in which dating, companionable automobile rides, and often abruptly marrying and living happily ever after were featured. Some of the pictures specially invited such themes, notably 3 and 5, but the fact that stories were built around the theme of love even in these pictures is significant. Many times in pictures in which boys and girls were paired together, as in picture 8, the stories naturally introduced the possibility of marriage. In family scenes such as 29 or 41 the conflict in many stories

concerned making dates with the opposite sex. It is of great significance that in few of the stories were there overt sexual fantasies. Always the stories were kept on the level of social relationships; seldom on that of the physical relationships. Picture 14, which had obvious sexual significance, became a stumbling block for most of the pupils tested, resulting either in complete rejection of the picture or in very fantastic stories. So far as could be discovered there was no particular atmosphere of guilt surrounding the love themes. Generally they expressed happiness without regret. Marriage was looked on by the young adolescent as a state of bliss (except in a few stories in which housework and caring for children was seen to be a burden). When boys referred to getting married, marriage was merely an episode—an event like any other achievement. Girls are likely to invest it with some sense of personal relationship and closeness: "He took her hand and said affectionately, 'You know what that means. We can be married immediately'" (Nancy, case 31, story 31). Little more will be said about love themes, since they stand apart by themselves in the stories.

The aggressive themes, however, produced marked emotional responses. In many of the aggressive stories there were fantasies of concealment and escape from the avenger. Generally punishment followed aggression in monotonous sequence. A sequence repeated over and over again was to have the aggression of robbery or personal attack followed by the arrival of police, arrest, trial, conviction, and punishment. The punishments were of the severest kind—life imprisonment or the electric chair. One boy (not in this series) who told a story, based on picture 9, of a man who was released from jail on probation, when asked to tell what followed, had the man repeat his crime, this time to be sentenced to electrocution.

The stories of many boys (particularly the younger ones) which included many episodes of aggression were characterized by frenzied *excitement*. These were real adventure stories with deep-dyed plots, dramatic incidents, hair-raising escapades, cold-blooded deeds, and fast action. Wallace (case 1) became so aroused by his own stories that he had to leave his chair and pace up and down the room while relating them.

In this connection the *exaggerated style* of the stories did reveal indirectly the heightened tension of the excitement. Both boys and

girls used superlatives, approaching the style of Thomas Wolfe. Numbers became astronomical—one would hear of a million dollars or a thousand dollars as readily as the paltry single dollar bill. Automobiles would cruise at ninety or one hundred miles an hour. The city would be the largest city, the physician the most renowned physician, the dress the most beautiful dress in all the world.

Frequently the aggression was occasioned by *rivalry* or *jealousy*. There might be competition between two boys, one of whom was older, larger, or stronger than the other, or between two girls, one of whom was prettier or more talented than the other. Jealousy over boy-girl relationships appeared not only in stories told about pictures 3 and 5, in which there were boy and girl figures, but also 33, 38, and 41, in which there were only girl figures.

These stories of excitement and adventure are to be contrasted with other stories told with considerable frequency, which included *depressed themes*. Pictures 22 and 30 readily drew forth the latter type of story, but other pictures were equally effective. Discouragement would result from the collapse of enterprises and projects. Both boys and girls liked to picture situations in which characters in their stories were in the depth of gloom and at the end of their resources just before the ray of light broke through in the conclusion. Frequently discouragement was followed by trying again and again, with dogged determination, until success was achieved.

Happiness occurred less frequently as a theme than depression. When the happiness was expressed, it seemed to have a Pollyanna character, a trumped-up feeling that one must make the best of circumstances and find relief in the fact that things were not as bad as had been expected. Often one had the impression that the happiness which appeared in the last sentence of a story ("they lived happily ever after") was the storyteller's attempt to reduce the excitement and the anxiety which his own fantasies had aroused. Subjects who included many themes of happiness were themselves drab and immature as individuals.

Anxiety was a recurrent theme in about three-quarters of the subjects of this study, particularly the older adolescents. It tended to show itself in worry or concern over the outcome of any enterprise. There was marked anxiety concerning lack of popularity and being left out by the group, of being alone, of being deserted and without

friends in a strange place. There was anxiety over possibility of accident or illness and anxiety lest one's shortcomings be revealed. School was a particularly frequent source of anxiety—subjects rather generally worried about reports, examinations, receiving passing marks, and meeting the consequences of wrongdoing.

From the stories collected in this study it can be assumed that adolescents dream of *success* and *achievement*, but rather unrealistically. Getting a job and money were persistent concerns, and many stories were built around the theme of making one's way in the world. The Horatio Alger theme of starting at the bottom of the ladder in a lowly position, rising gradually by hard work (and luck), and eventually becoming manager of the business or head of the firm was not at all uncommon, with the additional possibility of marrying the boss's daughter. *Ambition*, with eventual success, less frequently was directed toward a school and a college career. Many of the stories were unrealistic about money. It came easily and in large quantities. If it could not be earned, there was always the possibility of robbing a bank or inheriting a legacy. There seemed to be no brakes to fanciful speculations in this area.

One of the most persistent and deep-seated fantasies involved the *conflict* of *good* with *bad*. These adolescents were struggling with moral issues. Pictures 19 and 33 brought out this conflict most frequently. Often the point at issue seemed to be trivial enough—whether a boy should smoke or consort with some particular gang, or whether a girl should use cosmetics. But underlying these superficial issues always lay more profounder questions of good and bad—of studying, working, being regular, steady, and decent as contrasted with being a criminal or good-for-nothing, if a boy, or of being chaste, demure, popular, and a good sport as contrasted with being flirtatious, course, lewd, and vulgar, if a girl. These issues were by no means on intellectual or theoretical issues. Boys revealed a real temptation to join a criminal gang and to become enemies of society; girls were really tempted to become vulgar and lewd. The moral struggle, then, in these adolescents became a struggle between real competing tendencies.

As a result of this moral conflict *guilt* and *conscience* appeared in many of the stories. There were frequent themes of hiding and of concealment—of the hidden chamber and the secret passage and of eluding the avenging punisher. Guilt showed itself on the many oc-

casions when a story which had struggled through conflicting themes finally and suddenly ended with a quick and magical resolution of the difficulty or with a promise of reform. *Repentance* and *reform*, turning over a new leaf and going straight, were frequent solutions to the moral conflict. "He learned his lesson" was a typical way of ending a story which is built around the moral conflict. Finally, a boy or a girl might assuage guilt by various forms of *altruism*—by offering a helping hand, by getting another person out of trouble, by giving good advice, by trying to persuade another person to give up his evil ways. Trying to influence another person to control his impulses served as a bulwark in the effort to control one's own.

These adolescents, particularly the older ones, were also facing acutely the conflict between *asserting* their *independence* and *remaining dependent*. The time was fast approaching when leaving the family would become a real issue. Not only in life but also in these stories they liked to experiment in fantasy with leaving home. Pictures 23 and 18 are excellent for encouraging the free play of these fantasies. Running away from home was a frequent theme, so was leaving home to make one's way in the big city. Boys and girls cringed at the possibility of loneliness, friendlessness, and isolation. Such episodes might have two possible solutions. Either the boy (or the girl) got a job, worked hard, made friends, and became successful, or he told a story of defeat like the following.

O.K. This boy lived with mother out in the country. He had a great ambition to go to city. So he ran away. He stuffed \$15 in pocket he had saved and walked to city. He ran away from home. Here he stands wondering where to turn. He thought it was nice place to live in. Some boys pile up on him and take all but \$2 from him. He looks for work. He went in a couple of buildings, but he was too young and there was no work for him. He slept in box in an alley. The next morning he got few hot dogs and milk. He was almost hit by car. He was cold. On the following day, with his money all spent, he had nothing to eat. He read in paper that all his folks were looking for him and his mother was sick. He returns home, and mother gets well. He never wanted to go to city by himself after that. (Ralph, case 2, story 18)

Boys and girls both dreaded *sickness*, *accident*, and *injury*. There seemed to be little thought of pain or suffering—rather they dreaded

accidents and sickness as a punishment for carelessness or wrongdoing. In several cases the narrator told stories in which the anxiety concerned the sickness of a relative, perhaps the mother. In their stories there were frantic efforts to reach a doctor or to buy the person medicine. One may speculate that the adolescent boy (or girl) unconsciously feared that his hostility was in part responsible for the illness and possible separation and that he strenuously strove to make amends.

Educators need to be aware of the fantasies that adolescents have with regard to *school*. School, instead of being a happy place, is to them a place which arouses anxiety. Punishment and the threat of failure hung over many of these adolescent storytellers. To them school was a place of assigned tasks, a challenge to success, and the dread of failure. If one wanted to be and was successful, there might be the faraway and shadowy bliss of college in prospect. Teachers were almost always stern, threatening, and avenging figures—seldom was any affection shown by or for them. Homework became a burden and was a further source of conflict with parents.

Concern over *popularity* was frequently shown in the fantasies, especially by girls. They longed to be liked and wanted. Many girls were concerned over being asked to parties or dances, the choice of escorts, and whether she would be popular and have a good time or be a wallflower. Boys, on the other hand, made more of being respected, of being accepted for what they have accomplished; but they, too, dreaded being left out of social groups.

Appearance was a persistent fantasy, particularly with the girls. Ten out of the twenty girls included references to appearance in their stories. Appearance had to do with their being accepted and their popularity—it was a necessary ingredient in their social relationships. A boy might try to impress others by his accomplishments, his strength, and his skill, but a girl must establish herself through her person. "Mary had just finished the dishes. She was going to change her dress and freshen up a bit, when the doorbell rang. She answered it, and in walked John" (Nancy, case 31, story 31). So appearance is naturally and unobtrusively introduced as a theme in stories told by many of the girls.

This recital of the characteristics of adolescents as revealed in their fantasies would not be complete without reference to the *weird* and

the *uncanny*. Those themes appeared, to be sure, in stories of some of the less-well-adjusted adolescents, but they were common enough to be said to characterize adolescence as a whole. The horror story with the uncanny and unexpected seemed to have particular appeal. A few of the stories included trips to other planets or underneath the ocean. Several subjects were perturbed by the dark and the eerie sounds that emanate from the dark. Insanity and the "nut house" had macabre fascination for several. Frequently these same stories contained elements of surprise also. As a means of relieving the anxiety which their own stories aroused, they might end with a touch of humor or by having the uncanny phenomena turn out to be trivial and commonplace or coincidental—the ticking of a clock—or the stranger turning out to be the boy's lost relative.

These adolescents varied in their *dominance-submissive* tendencies, as would any group of adults or children. A few told stories in which the hero was a miniature Superman. Whatever he undertook was successful. He exerts his influence on other people, and they responded to his advances. Others told stories, however, in which the main character was more of a pawn, buffeted by events and subjected to various dire happenings. When such stories were told by girls, it seemed more natural—several girls told stories of yearning and longing for happy events, of patiently waiting and wishing that things would happen, of desiring to be wanted. When a boy told stories having such characters, they appeared more conspicuously to be passive and masochistic.

In many of the stories the *Oedipus longing* and *conflict* stood out with classic simplicity. However successfully the adolescent boys and girls have worked through the Oedipus conflict in their actual life adjustments, in fantasy the two forces love and hate were still present and actual. It was this conflict that activated much of the hate—and also much of the love—which these boys and girls exhibited. It was this conflict that was responsible for much of the rivalry and jealousy. It was this conflict that has now turned into the conflict between striving for independence and wishing to retain a dependent relationship. It is a guess that these adolescent boys and girls who were still struggling with the Oedipus conflict in fantasy would always be attempting to work out a satisfactory solution to it, both in their own

family relationships and in their work. To be sure, it took a different form in each individual, but its presence clearly revealed in the stories told by these adolescent boys and girls.

To summarize briefly, adolescence is a period of the intensification of drives, following patterns already laid down in infancy and childhood. The adolescent is driven by aggressive trends growing out of his frustrations and goaded by his need to assert his independence and to achieve maturity. But the adolescent is also driven by his love needs, his need for belonging and security, his need to be accepted and respected by others, and his need to find in other persons those qualities to admire which will make up for lacks and inadequacies which he senses in himself. These profound love and hate drives grow out of his relationships with father and mother in infancy. But these drives come into conflict with the demands and expectations of society. Adolescent boys and girls are exceedingly sensitive to moral standards and are in conflict with regard to their acceptance. For his aggression he expects punishment. His aggressive (and erotic) drives arouse in him guilt. To avoid this painful state of affairs, he resorts to attempts to hide or to escape, he repents and promises to reform, he attempts to mollify the retribution of others by his acts of generosity, kindness, and helpfulness. The adolescent wants to be respected, and accordingly he strives for success. In his fantasies he is ambitious, he is concerned about his economic future, and he has unreal conceptions of marriage. Or he wants to be accepted, strives for popularity, and tries to make himself personally acceptable and desirable.

There are times when anxiety overwhelms him, and he is blue and depressed because he fears the outcome of his aggression and that others will be hostile to him or desert him. At other times he courageously whistles in the dark to reassure himself. His own fantasies are anxiety producing, and he turns a story into a joke, reduces the weird and uncanny to the obvious and trivial, and makes the tense and impossible episode end easily and happily, with a promise of reform.

These stories in themselves have a real function in the adjustments of the boy or the girl. In them, the adolescent boy or girl strives to work through his conflicts. In the process anxiety may be aroused and he may have to reassure himself in one way or another. But telling

these stories could be and is a real growth experience out of which a boy or a girl gains slightly more courage to express his aggression, goals, and ambitions, to assert his independence, to learn that his fears are trivial, to reduce in some small measure his burden of guilt, and to become more self-assured and confident.

XIV. CASE OF JACK

IN THIS CHAPTER a case will be presented to illustrate how the picture-story method is interpreted. Jack is poorly adjusted and is a state ward who has lived with his present guardian for three years. He shows mildly neurotic delinquent trends. Another case (Jimmy) will be given in the following chapter to illustrate the normal adolescent boy with good heterosexual adjustments and good school and home relationships. For each case the original data collected in the study will be presented in full. Following these source materials there will be a summary of the facts in the life history and then an interpretation of the fantasy material as found in the stories each boy has told. The source materials for each case will include the following: (I) Identification material and excerpts from school records; (II) a report of the introductory interview with the subject; (III) a report of the interview with the mother (in the case of Jack it will be a report of the interview with his guardian); (IV) the subject's autobiography; (V) statements concerning the subject from his teachers; (VI) statements concerning the subject from other boys; (VII) the stories told in response to the pictures; (VIII) the associations to these stories; (IX) a theme analysis and comparison with the norms derived in the study; (X) a summary of the facts in the life history; (XI) interpretation of the fantasy material.

Interviewer's Report of His Introductory Talk with Jack

Jack likes mathematics, but he does not like English, although civics is okay. He does not understand so much about politics. He likes science, sports, art, and music. Gym is okay, but he is not on any team, although he likes sports. Last year he suffered a broken shoulder in football practice, so "no more football" for him. He loves swimming best of all; his next choice is football. He went to school in Millerston, Selby, and now in Suburban City. He liked the Millerston school best. He says that he is quick tempered and that

*Face Data and School Record**School*—Junior High School*Age*—15*Grade*—9GA³ (General curriculum, slow-moving section)*Test Results*

Henmon-Nelson

I.Q.

99

Pintner—General Ability Test, verbal series—

Intermediate—Form A

106

	<i>Norm</i>	<i>Score in Terms of Grade Equivalent</i>
Metropolitan Achievement Test— Advanced Form B—1939-40		
Reading	7.2	7.1
Vocabulary	7.2	9.3
Arithmetic		
Fundamentals	7.2	6.3
Problems	7.2	6.3
Metropolitan Achievement Test— Advanced Form B—1940-41		
Arithmetic		
Fundamentals	8.7	6.9
Problems	8.7	7.2
<i>Marks in 8th grade</i>	<i>Marks</i>	
English	72	
Mathematics	70	
History	77	
Science	77	
Electric-Shop	75	
Art	80	
Music	75	
Woodworking-Shop	80	
Physical Training	75	
Health	75	

when he gets into trouble the school sends letters home. In fact one has just been sent home by his principal because he “sassed” a teacher. His mother (guardian) has not come to school in answer to it.

His first choice for a vocation is electrician. His second choice is deep sea diver. When he finishes school, he would like to try to be an apprentice in the machine shop where his guardian is foreman. He says the shop in his school is no good. He likes motors and such

things, but not telephones, which they have recently been working with in the school shop. "Here they tell you what to do, but then don't guide you as you do it, so that you must find out for yourself."

His mother is living, and he has one brother and three sisters. His father died when he was a kid, and his mother could not keep the family together. Two of the children are living with a cousin; one brother has left home, but he does not know his whereabouts.

He likes hitchhiking and bicycle riding. He used to read, but does not enjoy it much any more. He lives with a guardian and likes living with this guardian, with whom he has been for three years. His father died when he was about eight. He has been in various homes since he was eleven. His present guardian is better than the previous ones. He spent only three or four weeks in the home where he stayed before he came to his present place. His guardian has a son of ten, whereas the previous places had no kids.

He does not like movies, because they are too "mushy," but comedies are good. He would like to go out with girls, but he is too young and has no money, so he must wait until he has money. He likes aerial acts the best in vaudeville. He always got along pretty well with his sisters. He has not seen his oldest sister since he left home. He writes to his mother and sees her occasionally—that is, every few months. His mother is about 41. His sisters—one 17, another 8, and another 10—live in Saint Marysville, with a cousin. His brother is 19. Jack has a pet fox terrier which he likes better than anyone.

Report of the Interview with Jack's Guardian

Jack has been a state ward since he was about eleven. His father died several years before that and the mother was unable to care for the children. Jack was then turned over to a foster mother in a home that Jack didn't like very much. He lasted in this place for only a short time and was then transferred to his present home.

His present guardian reports that Jack always refers to his father as a good man who worked hard. As a result of an accident, he became very sick, spent nearly a year in a hospital, and then died.

Jack's mother hasn't such a good reputation. Shortly after the father's death, the mother took in a boarder, who soon assumed a status of more than a boarder in the home. He often came home drunk and would beat the children. Once Jack called the police to protect him-

self and his two small sisters. The police came, but the mother would not let them in. Then the neighbors complained, and finally the mother was given the choice of keeping the boarder or of keeping a widow's pension and the children. She chose the boarder and lost both the pension and the children. Jack was then sent to a guardian as a ward of the state.

Two younger sisters live with a cousin. They are about eleven and six years of age. Jack speaks fondly of these younger sisters. He keeps their picture on his dresser, but he says that they'll turn out like the older sister.

Jack is permitted now to see his mother occasionally. For a time this privilege was withdrawn, but his present guardian, who is apparently a warm-hearted person, brought him to see the mother anyway. These visits do not seem to have had any bad effect. Jack does not evince any enthusiasm about seeing his mother. When he is reminded he ought to call his mother, he says "Awww."

Jack seems in good health. He is easy to please with all kinds of foods; he sleeps well, though he sometimes talks in his sleep; and except for colds and the measles, he has had no illnesses of importance. He spends his leisure time studying a Sea Scout manual or hanging around with some boys and doing nothing special. He loves swimming. He plays well with the son of his guardian; has occasional scraps, but nothing serious. His associates were characterized as a "nice class of boys." The only trouble to which reference was made is that he will not go to church on Sunday.

He has no special hobbies, except that he has played with an old clock and an old camera in the cellar and loves a toy fox terrier which belongs to his guardian. He hates cats.

He gets along fairly well with his guardian. They have spats, that is, Jack with Mrs. H. Mr. H. says things to make Jack laugh, and they get along O.K. Jack, however, never finishes what he starts at home and doesn't like responsibility. He puts things off and never does anything until pushed.

Mrs. H. likes swimming and takes Jack to the beach with her several times a week during the summer. He refers to Mr. H. as "Pap" and says that "if Pap gets tools down in the cellar, he'll build something."

There are no nervous symptoms. He shows little or no anxiety

about his greatest difficulties. His scraps in school do not prevent his singing and enjoying himself. He is excitable, though, and has a strong temper. He gets angry very quickly. He is not a bully, knows his own mind, and would not let his older brother lead him into trouble. He is not a leader himself, but he is well liked by boys generally.

He's proud and would never coax or beg for anything. If he wanted to go to the movies and his guardian questioned whether he deserved it he wouldn't take the money even if offered.

He is sometimes affectionate and demonstrative. When his guardians go out and kiss Gregory, their son, goodbye, Jack will say "Where's my kiss?" He was very bashful when he first came. When kissed, he'll stagger around as if it killed him, pretending great astonishment. When his real mother kisses him, he gets angry and embarrassed.

With Gregory he is very affectionate. They kiss each other, or Gregory kisses Jack, and he doesn't get mad when Gregory kisses him.

Jack's Autobiography

When I was fourteen last year, I entered the swimming meet. I came in second in the class A semi finals, and in the finals I was in first position and another boy hit me behind the ear and I was out of stroke. That put me in last for awhile; then I fought up to third place, but I didn't win.

This year I am entering for the forty-yard crawl, and I hope I win.

This autobiography is interesting and significant. Short as it is, it represents the epitome of Jack's attitude toward himself—his striving to succeed, his belief that he is the victim of circumstances, his failure to make first place, and his intention to try again.

Because this autobiography is obviously inadequate as a story of Jack's life, it was decided to have him dictate his autobiography which follows.

I was born on Elm Street, in Warner, February 2, 1925, in a place they call Sam's Point, which is a tough neighborhood. Just before I was one year old we moved to Suburban City. We lived there about two years and then moved to Silver Spring, where I first learned how to swim. There we had a chicken farm. We lived in Silver Spring about four years and then moved to Millerston, where the main things of my life happened.

When I moved there, I had two sisters and one brother, and 1931 my

littlest sister was born. Four blocks away from my house there were carnivals all summer. I used to go to them all summer long and earned my first money working there. I lived in a neighborhood where there were mostly boys and was a member of a gang of boys older than I was, called the Willow Street Wild Cats. My gang used to build huts and tents, and the 4th Street gang used to wreck them. The first time we had a gang fight, we surrounded the hut at night and waited for the 4th Street gang. As a result of this fight I walked home with a big "bloucher," and from then on we were enemies of the other gang and were always fighting. We used to steal apples, and one time we were caught. The man who caught my brother told him that instead of stealing apples my brother should come and ask for them and he'd give them to us.

My father used to holler at us for going swimming in the brook, because people said it was polluted water. It was always running, however, so we went swimming all the time. When my father died, in 1934, us children were put with the state. At first I didn't like it, but then I found out it was best for me, for I'd surely get in trouble if I stayed with my mother. After my father died, we sometimes ate oatmeal for supper, but at the home of the people I live with now, I get better food. I like the people I live with and hope I can stay with them till I'm of age.

I got along pretty well with my brother, who was three years older than me. I always looked up to him, because he was older than I was and he knew more. One thing I always remember is that one time when I got him mad he gave me one of the worst black eyes a druggist ever saw. The druggist put leeches on it, but that didn't do no good. So ever since then whenever I meet him I say I'm going to pay him back for the black eye. He taught me how to fight and to box clean.

I was seven when the gang first started, and three years ago when I moved, it was still going. My brother quit the gang before any of us, for he got older and liked the girls, whereas we didn't believe in girls in the gang. After the home broke up, my brother started working helping out my mother in Millerston, after which he moved to Warner with my mother to my aunt's house. He worked for the CCC for awhile, and is now working for a laundry company.

I have two younger sisters, age 12 and age 7, and another sister two years older than I. My two smaller sisters are living with my cousin. They tell me my big sister is somewhere with the state, but I don't know where.

We had family battles, and I always fought with my big sister, but when it comes right down to it, we loved each other. My other sisters were so young they didn't know how to fight, for they were age 9 and age 4 at that time. I am still very fond of my two smaller sisters, whom I saw for the

first time in three years during Christmas. I can see my mother whenever I want.

We didn't get along so good with my mother. She used to give my brother money for cigarettes, and although I used to holler for money for movies, she wouldn't give it to me. That would cause an argument. My brother used to bring boys and girls to the house, and when I would be listening to stories on the radio (I love stories), they used to turn dance music on and wouldn't even ask me if I wanted to listen to the stories or not. I used to argue with my mother about that, but she told me my brother was paying for half the stuff around the house.

We all liked my father when he was living, but he used to holler at us for going swimming. My brother and I, having no other place to go, used to love to go swimming, and so my father licked us quite a lot. One time we went swimming in February, and I caught cold and got an awful licking. Otherwise we got along all right with my father. My father fell off a platform at work and hurt his spine. After that he was always sick and weak for about a year. Then he got the grippe, went out too soon, got pneumonia, then pleurisy, and finally died.

My mother and father fought about five times that I can remember. My brother, big sister, and I were always squabbling about dishes, and I got licked quite a bit by my mother. She didn't really lick me, just gave me a slap on the behind or something.

After my father died, we lived together for about one and a half years, but things were pretty tough and sometimes we didn't have enough to eat.

I never had any particular fears or worries. Right now I am worried about the new rule to change the age from 16 to 18 to quit school. I want to quit school next year, get a job for a year, then join the Navy and take up a trade.

Last year I got a broken collarbone playing football.

I never took any trips.

I joined the Sea Scouts about a month ago, and I figured if I go into the Navy that'll help me. In two weeks we're gonna go to New York as a "ship," and we're going to Madison Square Garden and see the boat show.

My present guardians treat me the best I could get treated. I wouldn't want to go back with my mother right now, for I couldn't get no decent job, and besides, she has all she can do to work for herself, housecleaning. I'd be just a hindrance. [If you could work, would you go back to your mother?] I don't know. I like my present guardians about as much as my real parents.

*Statement Concerning Jack from His Teachers*TEACHER A (*Principal of the school*)

After his father's death Jack's mother could not keep the family together, and she finally was forced to let Jack become a state ward. Now Jack has been for three years in a very fine family. He has a sister who is working. He is in the 9GA³ class, which is slow moving. He is in difficulty much of the time, because he has considerable friction with his teachers. He has a bad temper, but after an incident he apologizes, and he is honest and frank to admit his guilt. The last time, he was caught smoking back of the school building. His parents have given him permission to smoke.

His guardians have a boy of their own, and there is jealousy between them. Jack is asked to do more than his just share of the work in the house. Jack is given little spending money. He reports to an investigator that his foster mother throws it up to him that he is a foster child.

Jack does not like school and wants to join the Navy. He does not want to go to Sunday School. Not long ago Jack was suspended from school because of a fuss with a teacher in the cafeteria. He got mad, and the principal sent him home to cool off. Later, when the principal went to the hospital, Jack sent him a letter wishing that he might get well. If he were with a better group, maybe he could get himself up.

TEACHER B (*Assistant Principal*)

Jack, under state guardianship, was taken from his parents and placed in a foster home. His background is very poor. He is a discipline problem and won't adhere to any rules, wrangles with every teacher, and does not do anything with his lessons until he is forced.

This year he is easier to talk to. He can see your side of the question. Some teachers find him difficult. He resents being corrected by his teachers. He is older in his ways than his years.

His foster mother is a fine woman and is trying hard to do the best for Jack. There is a relationship there, although her husband did not want her to take Jack in. Her husband will not have anything to do about discipline, and the mother has to take full responsibility. Jack has been smoking behind the building, and there is trouble around the halls. He won't report to teachers after school. Recently he joined the Sea Scouts, and in school he changed to the Boat Building Club. He is interested in art and now has it five times a week. The last word is that he wants to drop boatbuilding to take another period in art. He is more pleasant now.



SPECIMEN OF JACK'S WORK IN HIS ART CLASS

Evidently copied from a picture. Note the fantasy character showing his love of the sea and his yearning for adventure.

TEACHER C

This boy is a peculiar case. He is large, a bully, fools around, tries to do everything he can and yet keep himself out of trouble. He keeps his eye on the teacher. He has been kicked around a lot in life and thinks everyone is against him.

Recently there was a rumpus in the office. Mr. —, a teacher, said he would have to keep his promise of giving him detention. Jack said, "Keep right on keeping your promises." Later he wrote a nice note of apology.

Now he is back in his old rut. He does many little things about which he has to be spoken to. He needs jacking up to be kept straight.

*Letter of Apology Written by Jack
to His English Teacher*

I am sorry that I flew off the handle and got fresh. But every time I turn around I get detention, and my temper ran away with me. From now on I will try to do what's right.

TEACHER D

I am at the end of my rope with Jack. He is a most difficult boy. I had him in class for two years. He is isolated from the rest of the children, but it is his own fault. They did not put him apart, but he seems to shun them.

Yet beneath he seems to have a good streak. He is doing charts for me. He insisted on helping me. When he puts his foot across the threshold in the morning, you know whether it's a good or bad day.

He spoils it for all the other boys. I can't cater to him and spoil the rest. I could sometimes tear his eyes out, he is just so annoying. He tries to do things to drive me crazy just so E— [another boy] will smile at him.

He has grown bigger and sloppier in the past year. I even complained to Mrs. H. about that. In one class he just shoved his desk around and drove the teacher crazy for a whole hour. He would peek around to see if she was annoyed. She didn't say anything, for if she did she'd have slapped his face.

TEACHER E

I like the boy. He has good qualities, but he must be given a lot of consideration. He will respond to flattery. Too few people are interested in him. One must make allowances for him. He has a personality hitch. He will try to apologize, but he lacks social adjustment. He doesn't know the accepted thing to do. He doesn't know social usage. He has done errands for me, and I found him very faithful. There are some unfortunate experi-

ences in his background. He is not brilliant, but he will become a good citizen. He must be treated with thoughtfulness.

TEACHER F

He is the type of fellow you must treat with kid gloves. He is easily injured. One must go at it in a nice way to get anything from him. Lots of time I've felt so bad about him, for there is nothing mean about him. His likes and dislikes are narrowed. He wants to get into the Navy. He is doing pretty good work for me. Sometimes he gets something out of work and surprises me. He has the power to learn.

TEACHER G

I dislike Jack intensely. I am going to fail him. Since I have made that decision I feel more relaxed about him, because he can do well and doesn't.

Statements Concerning Jack from Other Boys

BOY A

Jack is always getting into trouble, but he's a good guy though. He does something unintentionally. Miss O. yells at him. He gets all hot and gets thrown out, but he has a cause for yelling—he doesn't hear the teacher. He does art work in civics class and civics in science class. Then he and the teachers get in a scrap. He gets along perfect with fellows. He is not a leader, but he gets along.

BOY B

Jack's a nice guy, but he seems to have changed since last year. Since he's going around with guys in a different neighborhood, we weren't such good friends. Lately, though, we've gotten to be friends again. One bad thing about him is when you're eating he comes in and yells in your face to be funny. He loses friends that way.

BOY C

Jack just doesn't give a darn. He doesn't care if he doesn't do homework. He kids a lot. I have no basis for judging his ability. I don't know the fellows he goes around with. He thinks he's tough. I wouldn't want him as a friend.

The Stories Told in Response to the Pictures

CARD 1 (5 SECONDS)

Hm. This is kind of tough. Well, she's getting a letter. It looks as if she's guessing about it. Gosh! [Pause 10 seconds.] She's wondering what it's

gonna be. She's expecting a letter about the family. It looks as if she just got married. It's a special delivery. She doesn't look like she lives in a big city. She looks like a plain housewife, for she has plain clothes and is not all dressed up. It's a letter from her mother asking how her and her husband and children are. The letter tells how it is back home and what she is missing. All the people are asking, for her mother just came home from a long trip to the mountains. She had a good time, but not much rest. She went swimming, boating, etc. She takes the letter and writes back. She says she is gonna come up pretty soon and they may expect her on Sunday. She just got a dog for the children. They are playing with it and dirtying the house and having a good time. Her husband is working steady and gets a good salary. She received a new watch from her husband because of his good job. She's gonna get a permanent soon, too. She's happy in her new home. The neighbors are friendly. At one neighbor's house she had a game of cards. Now she goes out almost every night.

CARD 2 (5 SECONDS)

This woman is making a blanket. She sat down and got comfortable. She just put in a few stitches, when the doorbell rang. She looks as if she's saying, "Why couldn't they do that before I sat down." She lives out West near the Mexican border. She's not rich, but she's not poor. Her husband works on a ranch 5 miles away. They own a few cattle. She goes to the door and finds that her husband has come home. A horse ran wild and knocked the husband off, and he got a broken leg. [Sigh.] She calls the doctor. He says it's not bad and that it will be all right in a few weeks. She's wondering what she'll have to eat if he don't work.

CARD 3 (7 SECONDS)

This girl is a wallflower. She's reading a book about a princess and a prince happily in love. She's not good looking, but if she wanted to she could make herself better looking. She lives near a college. She sees a boy and girl passing. They're talking about what they'll do at a dance. She hopes for an invitation. She don't know any boys, so she's just dreaming off into space. She's rich, but with all her money she's not good looking. It's midsummer, I guess. Right across from the house is a beautiful park. Often she dreams she has a boy friend who walks her through the park.

CARD 4 (7 SECONDS)

This woman owns a rooming house. She's an old crab. She goes up and looks in the keyhole to see what it is (noise that she hears). There's a party in there. She keeps looking in the keyhole. After a while a man opens

the door. "What are you doing there?" he says. "I was just trying to find something I dropped," she says. The man goes in, and she stands outside and wonders if she should look in again. It's a great temptation. She looks again. Now the party is over. They're making a lot of noise. People are hollering and dancing. She wonders what she ought to do about it. She knocks on the door and asks them to be a little quiet. The people get mad and tell her they'll move. She's too much of a crab. She regrets looking in the door. She lost a tenant.

CARD 5 (5 SECONDS)

One day in summer just before vacation she had this boy—he was supposed to be her boy friend—but she used him as a sucker. They walked home from school. She saw the boy she really liked, but he didn't like her. This day she was all dressed up. He walked by. He couldn't help noticing how cute she was, so he said hello to her. She said hello back, and the boy that was carrying her books got mad. He wouldn't go with her any more. The other boy had his own girl friend, so he didn't go with her. She was just out of a boy friend.

CARD 6 (12 SECONDS)

This girl's mother just went to the hospital. She had an appendix operation. She was trying to get hold of the girl all day on the phone. The girl wasn't around. They had everyone in the neighborhood looking for her. So one of the neighbors thought she might be at her grandmother's. She called her there. The grandmother answered. When the grandmother heard the news, she fainted, and the girl picked up the receiver to see what made the grandmother faint. She hears the bad news and calls the doctor for her grandmother. She went to the hospital to see her mother, and her mother was quite bad. She was not doing well. It was the last time she could see her mother. They wouldn't admit anyone after that. A couple of days later she called, and they told her her mother was dead. She died of heart failure. [snicker.]

CARD 7 (7 SECONDS)

It looks like two women's children are in school. It's Monday, and they're both washing. One is hanging up clothes, when the other comes out. The one that's hanging clothes calls the other. They're talking how nice it is that the children are in school. There's nobody to pester them. One woman is telling the other how bad her boy was. He played football and kicked the ball through the window. The other woman bragged about her boy. He never does anything like that. Meanwhile the boys are coming

home. They're talking over politics. So one says he's for Willkie—the other for Roosevelt. They start a fight. With that, each woman sides with her child. They argue. Both get mad, and each takes her own child in house and give him dinner. When the children go back to school, they start hanging up clothes again. One of the women gives in. She says how silly it is to argue over their children. They make friends again.

CARD 8 (12 SECONDS)

This girl went to a fortuneteller to read her fortune. She loved this guy. She went so she could see what would become of her and the boy. The fortuneteller said they'd have a hard job to get their parents' consent to get married. After their marriage, there'd be hard living for about three years. Her name is Anne. His name is Dick. The fortuneteller said they'd live in an apartment at first. Another man would come into her life, but she'd like him only at first, but after a while she wouldn't. Her husband would be jealous, and there'd be a big fight. By then they'd have a child, and they'd both try to get the child. They go to court for a divorce, but neither can have the child if they are divorced, so they decide it's foolish. They love each other. Then they stay married and live with their child and are happy.

CARD 9 (9 SECONDS)

A man in here? This man is a country doctor who used to help poor folks. If they couldn't pay, he'd do it for nothing. Sometimes they paid with corn, chickens, and all, and sometimes with money. Most of the people were poor. He had a family—two boys and three girls. The sons are going to college to be doctors. Two of his girls are going to be nurses. The other one is married. He once cured a whole city that had an epidemic of scarlet fever, and he fought day and night and overcame the epidemic. He was known as a hero. One day a rich woman and man came to the office. They told him to come with them. Their daughter was just thrown off a horse. The doctor went with them. Something was wrong with her brain. He had to perform an emergency operation. He told the parents he might not succeed. They said go ahead or she'll die. The girl died, for he gave her too much ether. So they put him in prison. All poor people wrote the president how he helped, etc. He is waiting for an answer in prison. Question: What is the answer? Reply: He is pardoned.

CARD 10 (12 SECONDS)

They put some tough ones in here, don't they? This man got married about three years ago. He bought a new house. His work was good then, and he

paid for all that was done on the house. He never used to work on the house himself. Here he tried, for he hadn't much money. His work is slack. He didn't know how to put up a ladder. When he climbed to the top of the ladder, he slipped a little. He rolled and got hurt. Now the doctor is in his room fixing him up.

CARD 11 (9 SECONDS)

Another hard one! Two happily wedded parents had five sons. Two were doctors, and two were lawyers. The father owned a book shop. One son turned out a criminal. This father always brought books home for the boys to read. The four sons read, but the gangster didn't read. He hated his brothers, his parents, his school. He got in with a gang of bad boys when he was 13. These boys led him on and made him think stealing and killing criminals was an honor. A year went by, and he got worse. He turned out to be a boy criminal in the city. A little later his mother died. He only had his four brothers and his father. A little later the cops caught up with him. In a gun battle he got shot pretty bad. His two brothers, the doctors, tried to do everything they could, but he died. Before he died he told his family what a fool he was not to have taken their advice. He wished he read books and liked everybody. Today he might be a man. Now they are taking him to the grave. His four brothers are pall bearers. His father is walking behind almost dead with sorrow.

CARD 12 (8 SECONDS)

This was once a happy family. One time the mother and father went out in the car. They got killed. The boy started a paper route. His three little sisters couldn't work. No, that ain't a sister. His big brother and sister went to work. They lived happily for almost two years that way. In the meantime his big brother became an important man in a business concern. One time he came home and said he was transferred to South America. The whole family tried to stop him. He couldn't help it. They talk over how they'll live now.

CARD 13 (9 SECONDS)

A boy and girl go for a drive. A cop is playing with a stray dog. The dog ran before the car. They swerve. They didn't see a truck. Suddenly a truck came zooming through. They hit the truck almost head on. Everything went blank. The truck driver and the girl are killed. The boy goes to a hospital. They hold the boy for manslaughter. The cop tried to help the boy. But there are witnesses to the accident; they say the boy went too fast to stop and the car skidded. The cop said it wasn't true. He

said the boy swerved trying not to hit the dog and hit the truck. The boy was taken before the Grand Jury and had three trials. He was found not guilty.

CARD 14 (18 SECONDS)

(Don't know what to say about this.) This woman had a boarding house. She let rooms by the week. A man took a room. He had a girl friend. He brought the girl friend there. They got drunk. They didn't know what they were doing. They were dancing and everything up there. They forgot to lock the door. They were fooling around with each other. The woman downstairs heard the racket. She came up and instead of knocking she walked right in. They are wondering what she's going to say.

CARD 15 (12 SECONDS)

This kid looks as if he lived in the slums. His brother is a big shot around the neighborhood. He heard his brother and his gang plan on buying a boat. So the brother bought the boat, and they used to go out on trips with it. This kid thought what fun he'd have if him and his gang played a joke on his brother by taking the boat and hiding it. But when they were taking it, one of the boys in the brother's gang saw them. The guy in the gang told his brother on him when he saw him. But he knew the kid was smart, so he asked him if he wanted half interest in the boat and to be in his gang. He told the kid that they were robbing warehouses. The kid used better judgment. He said no. He wanted to go straight. His brother said O.K. and didn't bother him any more. A week later the whole gang was rounded up, except the brother. The brother told the kid he was smart. He took the right road. The brother decided to go straight with him.

CARD 16 (12 SECONDS)

This one boy is named Slim. He's poor. One day he met John who wasn't rich, but had enough money. These boys got to be friends. They were pals. They stuck together. Slim was an orphan. John took him in his house. He snuck him up to his room. He let him sleep there all night and didn't tell his mother. When John's mother saw Slim, she liked him a lot, so she decided to adopt him. So she adopted him. Slim lived with them the rest of his life. They never had any fights. They got along like two regular brothers.

CARD 17 (8 SECONDS)

This boy's name is John. His mother is a widow. He got in trouble in school. His mother had to go up to school. The teacher told him he was

fooling around too much in school. He said he was sorry. Here she's describing how her husband died. The boy never knew this for he was small. She's telling how the big brother ran away because he didn't have enough money off the mother. The mother is telling how much she'll have to depend on him when he's old enough to work. He'll have to support her. He's thinking over the situation. He promises not to get into trouble. From then on he's a good guy in school.

CARD 18 (7 SECONDS)

This kid lived out West and always wanted to see New York City. When his mother and father died, he wanted to go to the city, but his sister took care of him. She was mean to him and hated him and said she didn't have to keep him if she didn't want to. After a year he was sick and tired of hearing that and decided to run away. He had a little money. He sold some vegetables he had grown for more money. He thought that in the city people were as friendly as they are on the farm. He thought he'd have a good time. When he got to the city he saw only big buildings. He couldn't find friends. People walked by and never said hello like in the country. He tried for a job. He went to a big concern and tried for an office boy. He only got a job helping the janitor. He worked his way up to assistant supervisor, and he was always glad he came to New York. But he always wanted to go back to the farm. So now he owns the business. He still ain't back on the farm yet.

CARD 19 (4 SECONDS)

This boy just moved to the neighborhood. His name's Tom. His mother never had much money, 'cause his father was a heavy drinker. He always wanted to turn out respectable instead of a heavy drinker like his father. When he moved he met with a bad bunch. They always called him a sissy and everything 'cause he wouldn't smoke and rob things like they did. After awhile the other kids began to like him, 'cause despite the fact that he wouldn't smoke and steal he was the best fighter in the neighborhood and one of the bravest. So ever since the kids began to like him, he tried to break other kids of their habits. He broke a few kids, but this here one guy, a former leader of the gang, decided he wouldn't follow the others. So this boy's wondering how he's going to break the news that the other boys in the gang don't want him if he keeps smoking and stealing.

CARD 20 (10 SECONDS)

This kid's a hard-working kid. His mother had died about a year ago. His father was never good to his mother, so, he's glad she died for her own sake. The father always beat his wife and gave her no money for luxuries.

When the mother died, the father took him from school and made him work. The father wouldn't work at all. The boy always handed in his earnings willingly. The boy never kept any, 'till one day a kid said he saw the father with another woman spending money foolishly. The boy decided to go to the father and say he didn't like it. His father laughed at him. The next pay day the boy didn't give him money. He beat the kid and took all the money. The boy told him to give him some. He said he wasn't going to work for the father. He was going to run away. The father said (mad)—"Here, take a dollar. Get out and stay out." The boy took the money and disappeared. Ever since the father is always sorry for what he did. He didn't have no income and couldn't work for himself. He was too old.

CARD 21 (8 SECONDS)

This kid tried to get a job on a boat as a mess boy. He got the job, and he worked for about two months. A big bully warned him one day that it was his job. He said the boy shouldn't return. The next day the boy returned. The big bully started hitting him. The kid's friend, one of the crew, saw the bully hit the kid. He grabbed the bully and warned him to leave the kid alone. The kid asked the friend why the bully didn't keep the job. He said he was too snoopy and too wise. The boy kept his job and worked at it for years. He got to be first mate. He was always glad he wasn't snoopy and too wise or he wouldn't have a job like that.

CARD 22 (11 SECONDS)

They call this boy Skinny. He never was good in football or other sports except boxing. All the other boys in the neighborhood always teased him, for he was so skinny. They knew he was chicken-hearted. He'd never hit anybody unless he had to. Here he sits and wonders what he's gonna do. He falls asleep and he dreams he's a professional boxer. He's known all over the world, and he's traveled from country to country boxing. He was never defeated. Practically everyone he boxed in America; it was kids that always teased him. He made plenty of money at it. He boxed his way to fame. Just then he woke up. He sat and thought. He made up his mind to be a boxer. He worked on it all his life, and it turned out just as in the dream. He's glad he had the dream.

CARD 23 (10 SECONDS)

This boy was brought up in a bad neighborhood. He was adopted by some rich people. While living there, he was influenced by a gang to tell them where the safe was and the combination, for the people trusted him with

the combination. The gangsters got caught and squealed on the kid. He was sent to the reformatory. The people wanted to give him another chance, because they liked him. They thought it wasn't his fault. After two years in the reform school he was given a pardon. He got out and now he's working, hoping he can make a new start. He turned out to be a good citizen.

CARD 24 (10 SECONDS)

This boy's name is Tom. Ever since kindergarten he liked this girl, but she never paid much attention to him. He's always trying to make her like him. She just never paid attention to him. He kept trying all through elementary school. When he graduated he found out the girl always liked him. She never showed it. She liked him now, and all through the summer he lay on the grass thinking what a wonderful girl she was. Hmm! His mother always wondered what was wrong with him. She thought he turned crazy all of a sudden. He went around the house singing and practically dancing. All he kept saying was, "What a beautiful world it is." His mother asked him what was wrong. He had never gone around willing to do work all the time. Then he told her the girl liked him. The mother said, "Yeah. I know how you feel. I was the same way when your father said he liked me." In later years they got married and lived happily ever after.

CARD 25 (5 SECONDS)

This boy wanted to buy a football and asked his mother for the money. She said she didn't have it. He asked his father and sister, but they didn't have it. His mother said, "Why don't you go to work for it?" He said, "I didn't think of that." First he tried to get a job as an office boy, but he was too young and inexperienced. Then he tried a store, but he had no bicycle. He decided to go to houses cleaning up yards and cellars. In the first place she said she had a boy to do it. All the other places had excuses. He knocked at one house where a poor lady lived. Her son had just died a month ago. The boy asked if he could work for her. She said she only had a little money. But he'd work anyway. When he got done she gave him a quarter. That's all she had extra. He said, "Thanks," and walked away. She called him back and asked what he's working for. "You look well off," she said. "I'm trying to get a football," he said. She said, "My son passed away. I have all his sports things and toys here. You can have all of them." He went home with them and told his mother. She said, "It's better to go to work than ask your mother. Sometimes you get more."

CARD 26 (10 SECONDS)

This boy is about 15. One night he asked his mother if he could go out. He hardly ever went out nights before. She said all right, but that he should be home by 10 P.M. He went out, hung on the corner, and played games, and had a good time. After that he went out kind of often. One night he stayed out a little late, 10:30. When he came home, his mother said nothing. He just slipped up. The next night he came later. He was getting in trouble with boys. He kept doing that. After awhile he came home by 11. One night the boys said, "Let's take a walk." At 10 he said, "I got to be home." The others said it wouldn't hurt to be out late once. He stayed. After awhile he had no idea of time. It was 11:25 and the boy ran home. His mother was waiting. She said, "Just for that, you can't go out any more. You disobeyed orders."

CARD 27 (5 SECONDS)

This boy is a nice clean boy. He met a tough boy one day. He thought the tough boy was the cats. He admired him for his spunk. They traveled together. He got in trouble sometimes. Stealing apples led to stealing other things, such as robbing stores. The tough boy knew a man with a gun. He bought the gun and gave it to the young boy. He told him he was going to rob a store. He said that if a man hollers, to shoot. The kid didn't want to fool with guns, and said he didn't want to. The tough guy persuaded him. The tough guy said they couldn't pal together if the boy didn't do this. So he robbed the store. He was chased by the proprietor. He shot and killed the proprietor. That night he stayed home. The cops came, and he was put in a reform school for two years. He thought over what he'd done and wished he'd never met the tough guy.

CARD 28 (14 SECONDS)

This girl is in senior high. She always loved the outdoors. She walked home one day, stopped by a brook, and sat down. She wished she could go swimming. She was scared someone might see her, but she went in though. Then she made a habit of it. She decided, "Why not get the rest of the kids around and fix the brook for swimming." They fixed it up. All during the summer they went swimming there. They built diving boards and had water games and all. All the kids looked up to this girl for thinking up the idea of a swimming hole. They went ice skating and always had fun.

CARD 29 (8 SECONDS)

This girl is about 15. Her grandmother always told her to get out and mingle with people, but she was always too bashful. One time she did get out with boys and girls. They all liked her and they went to dances together. They had picnics. At the senior prom she wondered who'd take her. About 6 boys asked her. She accepted one. From then on she thought she was hot stuff. No one liked her much after that, for she began to get stuck up. One time she was in her room admiring herself in the mirror, and her mother came in. Her mother said she shouldn't be that way, stuck up, for no one would like her. The girl laughed and said she knew what she was doing. She began going with one fellow and ditched the others. They got mad and said they'd never go with her. She only went with one guy, but he got mad at her. They broke up and from then on she had no other boy friends. They were all mad at her. The girls didn't like her, for she stole their boy friends. She had no friends, so she decided to stay in the house. She turned into a wallflower again. The mother told her the reason for the flop was 'cause she got stuck up. She was wishing she had listened to her mother.

CARD 30 (12 SECONDS)

This girl had a date with a boy. He said he'd call at 8 P.M. She always stood him up and made him wait 'till she was darn good and ready to come. This one time he decided to make her wait. She got all dressed up and sat in the chair by the clock. The boy made her wait a half hour. She had nothing to do but sit and wait. When he came he said he did it for spite, for she done it to him, so she decided not to do it any more. She never stood him up after that.

CARD 31 (6 SECONDS)

This girl is a high school girl. She decided to work and asked her father if she could quit school. Her father asked for her reason. She told him she wanted to work for extra money. He said, "I'll give you extra money, but don't quit school, for someday I'll hope you had that education." She had her mind made up. The father talked it over with the mother. The mother says, "You might as well let her do it. If she has her mind made up she doesn't like school, she won't do school work anyway. She wants to work." She worked for years. She got married and has three children. In the meantime her mother and father died in an auto accident. Her husband, a drunk, left her one day. When she tried to get a job, they asked about her education. She said she had only one year of high. But

that wasn't enough. She decided she should have took her father's advice and studied instead of going to work right away. The only way out was to marry another man. She didn't like him as much as her first husband, but she put up with him so her children could live right. There was no other way of getting money.

CARD 32 (4 SECONDS)

This girl was rich once. She had maids and nurses all around. Her father owned a bank and lots of stocks. She was always a spoiled kid and used to kick nurses and sass them back. She used to tell the maid to do something for her, and when the maid was done she said to her to do something else. She kept doing that, because she thought it was funny. All of a sudden her father lost all his stocks and went bankrupt. He suffered from shock and he died. She was left without money and without anyone to take care of her. So she went to get a job. She was about 19 then and didn't know how to do anything. She only remembered how maids and nurses did things. She got a job as a nurse. The kid in the house where she worked always sassed her back and did to her as she had done to her maids. She wished she could get away from it all and that she'd never do it again if she had the chance.

CARD 33

These girls live in an orphanage. In the orphanage the lady was mean that took care of the place. They got rotten food and were made to work half to death. So one time this woman, a society woman, heard of it. She wanted to help these girls out and all other girls, so she decided to try for the job this woman held. She had a hard job getting it. She went to all officials all over the country. After a while they decided to let her try. So when the girls heard a new matron was coming they decided to do everything the opposite of what they should do. When the lady came, she installed sewing machines. They had plenty of food, and she had stoves put in so the girls could learn to cook. She told the girls if they made their own dresses they could have a dance. These two girls—one decided to do what the matron said, the other decided to go against her. They get marked for their work, A, B, C, D. If they get all A's, they're allowed to go on a trip. They had their own money. One girl wouldn't work with the matron. The matron said she didn't care. When the other girls went on trips, she found out they were having a good time. She wanted that, too, so she decided to work with them. Later some of the girls got out of the orphanage, got jobs, and married. Some were rich.

All the time they were married they sent money to the orphanage to help other kids out.

CARD 34 (12 SECONDS)

I can hardly read word "examination!" This girl thought she was smart. She used not to do her homework. She fooled around in classes. When her report card came around, she seldom had a mark higher than 75. One day the teacher said, "Exams are coming soon." She decided to work hard. She took all her books home that night and studied all prepared subjects. She decided she liked to study. She took her books home every night after that for about three months. She found she was getting better marks. When exam day came, she was glad she studied, 'cause she got one of the highest marks in the room.

CARD 35 (18 SECONDS)

This girl was rich when she was small. She had plenty of money and had everything she wanted. In fact, she was one of the richest people in the world. So when she was about fourteen she has stomach trouble. She had to watch her diet and couldn't eat nothing but vegetables at first. After a while she got so she couldn't eat anything but crackers and milk. She was in bed one time. She was thinking that with all the money she had she couldn't buy her health back, but could buy anything else. A few days later she died. The doctor looked at her and thought, "People think when they have money they have everything. One thing they can't buy is health."

CARD 36 (15 SECONDS)

Boy, they are getting tough! This girl went to college. She had a couple of roommates she liked. She would do most anything in the world for them. She was the one who had the most money. Whenever anything went on, such as a dance, some of the girls couldn't buy dresses and she'd buy them for the girls. They always borrowed money off of her. They never paid her back. One day she stood in her room and heard a few girls coming down the hall talking about her. Like all women, she stopped to listen. They talked about what a good sucker she was. She decided from then on she'd never hand out money freely without knowing if the person was any good and that they'd pay her back.

CARD 37 (10 SECONDS)

This girl lived in London. When the war broke out, her parents sent her to America to get her out of the war zone. She had a lot of trouble getting

a boat. After a while she got a boat over and came over to America. She had no friends over here. People weren't like they were in London. They wouldn't talk to her, and no one said hello. They ignored her when she said hello. One time while she was waiting for a train she went to get candy. She left her suitcase and pocketbook there. When she came back, her pocketbook was gone and all her belongings, too. She sat down and wondered what she was going to do. She decided she'd get a job and work her way up like other Americans did. She started working in an office. She worked way up to the boss' secretary. She worked a couple of years. The boss' son came home. They fell in love and got married. She decided America wasn't so bad after all.

CARD 38 (14 SECONDS)

This girl's name was Anne. When her father lived, she was one of the best girls anyone could wish for. She always obeyed her mother and father. She never had to be told to do a job around the house. She went to school willingly and thought it was nice. Her father worked on the railroad. He had to work nights. He got the gripe and went back to work too soon. He got pneumonia, was sent to the hospital, and died. Then she decided she could have a better time not minding. She didn't do any work around the house. She went around with a gang of girls, and never came home 'till all hours of the morning. One time her mother got her and had a talk with her. She asked her why she didn't do things right since her father died. She told her mother to quit nagging her. She told her she knew what she was doing. Later she was put in a reformatory on a morals charge. So she was wishing she had done what her mother said. For when she got out of the reformatory it would be hard to get a job, with her record.

CARD 39 (8 SECONDS)

This girl's parents were living. She went to high school. She was going to a prom that night. She asked her father and mother if she could go. They said all right, because they knew the prom was over by one o'clock. She went. After the prom, all the girls and boys thought they'd go to a road stand down the road and have a dance. They were not satisfied with dancing at the prom. She decided she didn't want to go. They all called her a wallflower. They told her she was scared to go. So she went home. She had to walk a couple of miles, and when she got home her father and mother were waiting up. They asked her where she was. She told them all the other kids went dancing. Her father said, "I'm glad you told the truth because the boy that drove the car got drunk and they crashed. That

boy was held for manslaughter." She was thankful she had enough sense to stay home and not go dancing.

CARD 40 (5 SECONDS)

This girl always lived in the city. She has to work, but there was none to be found in the city. So she went to the country. She had a job on a farm. She was a hard worker and had plenty to do there. The first few mornings were hard. She had to get up at 4 A.M. to help with the cows. She always done housework after that. When she got done with that in the afternoon, she had the rest of the day to herself. Then she had a dog on the farm. She liked to run around the farm with the dog. She saved money and got to be healthy. She was always glad, for she wasn't so well in the city. She was always glad she saved money, 'cause a few years later she got married. She helped buy a farm for her husband. She always was glad she had come to the country, for there was no future in the city.

CARD 41 (11 SECONDS)

This woman had two girls. One was younger than her sister. Her mother always liked the oldest girl. So she bought her all new clothes and gave her the best of everything. She gave to the younger girl the old clothes which her sister had worn out. The mother always made her do housework while her sister went out with boys. The mother always thought that the oldest girl would marry a rich guy and she'd live with her in luxury. But she got fooled, for when this girl married, she didn't care nothing about her mother. She and her husband moved. The mother didn't know where for she never heard from her. The youngest girl was just going with boys. She stayed with her mother and helped all she could. When she got married, she done the opposite of the other girl and took the mother into her home. The mother was always sorry she never favored the little girl.

CARD 42 (10 SECONDS)

This girl's mother died when she was small. She had only her stepfather. She's about eighteen. And her father always beat her and kept her working the house. He never wanted her to go out with boys, and she never tried it. But this boy she met in school she liked a lot, so they made a date one afternoon. So this other boy was jealous. He heard them make a date and went and told her father. Her father, as soon as she got out of school, followed her. When she met the boy, he walked up and hit the boy. Then she thought that was the last thing she'd take off her father. So she ran away and went to live with her aunt. Then later she married that boy.

The Associations to These Stories

CARD 1

This story reminds me of lots of movies. The mother hates to break up the family by letting the daughter get married. She is like my guardian's mother, who is always worrying about the boy. She comes to the house to help, as if my guardian could not do it herself.

CARD 2

This reminds me of some radio stories. Most of the time poor people have hard luck over the radio, but they seem to get along pretty good.

CARD 3

This reminds me of the funny papers. They have ads about how to make a girl beautiful and also soap ads describing before and after.

CARD 4

This reminds me some of the moving pictures in which old hags run noisy rooming house.

CARD 5

This reminds me of my real brother. He used to go around with girls. His boy friend had a girl who did just that. She left him for a better guy, who was better looking.

CARD 6

Down here a lady died in a florist shop. Most people die of heart failure. I was just imagining how children would take it if grown up. I guess they would faint too.

CARD 7

I see women go out and always fight over their little kids, and parent fights too, and ten minutes later the kids are playing together. I don't see why women should fight. Kids don't hold a grudge.

CARD 8

Lots of time I read in the paper about people trying to get custody of their children. It happens with Hollywood people, and there are divorces and custody fights.

CARD 9

This reminds me of Dr. Christian in the movies. He's always helping poor people. In one picture he was cleaning up yellow fever. In another movie, Karloff was put in prison, but was pardoned after a while. People wrote on his behalf. He had treated poor people for nothing.

CARD 10

A man, a landlord near us, tried to fix the house and fell off a scaffold. He got a concussion. He didn't know how to do it and should have gotten somebody else to do it.

CARD 11

This reminds me of something that seems to happen sometimes in lots of families, that one turns out bad. The brothers try to make the bad one good. Some guy in Millerston was like that. He stole and was put into a reform school. He came out the same way.

CARD 12

I don't remember that.

CARD 13

That reminds me of two things. I saw a kid coming across the highway on a bicycle. A Willy's swerved to miss him and hit a pole. I saw a safety picture in the movies. A boy takes his mother for a drive in a new car. A truck zooms around and hits the car. Lots of times a guy's held for manslaughter when he kills someone.

CARD 14

In lots of magazines you read about that. A guy and a girl come home from a dance half canned. They don't know what they are doing. They don't lock the door, and someone walks in. They get in trouble all the time.

CARD 15

This reminds me of the moving pictures, particularly the "Dead End Kids." That's like right in my own family. I don't want to brag, but my brother was always running away. When he lived with mother, he didn't exactly run away, but he took trips to Pennsylvania to visit friends or cousin without telling mother.

CARD 16

This reminds me of a picture I saw four or five years ago, called "Penrod's Double Trouble." He went up in a balloon and fell. He couldn't be found, and a double took his place in the home.

CARD 17

I saw this in the movies lots of times. A big brother would not stay home, because mother wouldn't give him enough money. The little kid tries to follow the big brother. Then it winds up that both aren't bad any more.

CARD 18

The part where the kid works himself up reminds me of a boy who is broke at home. His father dies and he goes to New York to help his mother out. He works his way up. This reminds me of living with sister. There's a part that comes from my guardian. He worked in one shop for nine years and never got anywheres. He changed and now is foreman. I just made up the part about the sister.

CARD 19

This reminds me of the gang in Millerston when I lived with my mother. We used to rob apples out of trees. A new kid got us out of that. He wanted us to go out to the brook swimming. This reminds me of the movies, the "Dead End Kids," where the father is drunk.

CARD 20

This reminds me of a couple of things. I know a boy who had to work. His father was drunk all the time. His mother was not dead. She had to give money to the father. The boy was thinking of running away. This also reminds me of the movies. A man supported his father and then saw him running around with another woman. He got the idea "Why give him money when he spends it like that?"

CARD 21

I see this happen lots of times to boys. I saw it happen like that. A boy has a paper route. Then another boy comes along and the customers like him better. The former boy tries to get route back. He picks on the other boy all the time. Sometimes it happens at work too. Before they had unions, a man gets laid off. Another man comes along and takes the job, before the man should be laid off. The first one gets mad.

CARD 22

This reminds me of some of the football and baseball players. When they were kids, some were cripples, as Alice Marble was. I guess when you're crippled everyone—no, not everyone—makes fun of you. You have the feeling they don't want to play with you. Then they made up their mind to do something—like she made up her mind to play tennis.

CARD 23

Lots of times in the movies they have that, and in books too. A boy is adopted by rich people. Somebody influenced them into showing where the valuables were.

CARD 24

A book I read told almost a story just like that. A boy liked a girl, but she never paid attention to him. She went with others. When he got a car, she played him for a sucker and went with him.

CARD 25

Found this out when living with our mother. Most of the time when I asked her for something, she didn't have the money to spare. So we went to a factory which burned down. They had made brass and copper tubing, and we dug in the clay pits where they cooled the brass after they melted it. When we got to the bottom, we found all the pipes that had run under the factory. We got about twice as much money as we would have got off mother by digging for it.

CARD 26

This reminds me of my own life in part. I used hardly ever to go out. When I went out, I had lots of fun on the corners playing ring-levio. When it got colder, the boys used to stand on the corner and smoke and all that. My mother didn't say much, only "don't hang on corners. It only makes a bum of you." So I quit hanging on corners. Then I didn't get into trouble, but two weeks later the kids were all taken to the police station for some trouble. I was glad I didn't get in it. My big brother used to stay out late. He got the habit like the kid I mentioned in the story.

CARD 27

This part is like the movies. The so-called tough guys influence the little kids. Lots of times the kids get hurt by fooling with guns. I was with a

kid once and shot him in the arm with a .22. It was an accident. We stayed in the house just as in the story.

CARD 28

We had a swimming hole down in Millerston. It was made about 15 years before I came there. All these guys that did make it were grown up. We always looked up to them for building it. After they didn't swim any more, they had to work. They handed it over to us and told us to keep it going. Every year we'd clean it and build a new dam there. Question: Girl? That ain't got nothin' to do with it. It was BAB, Best American Beach—Bare Assed Beach. There were no girls.

CARD 29

There used to be some girl in the neighborhood that stayed in all the time. She never went with any others, except one boy. She got stuck up. Then she ditched him and went with other guys. These girls never got mad at her for going with their boy friends, but they didn't like her any too much.

CARD 30

This reminds me of one thing that happens in our family. The father goes out in the car. The mother runs in the house. She forgets herself. She wastes ten minutes looking at herself and fixing herself up. When the father goes in, it's for two minutes, and she blows the horn. One time downtown she was in a store for one and a half hours. So he went into Sears Roebuck for a half hour and kept her waiting. She was mad, and he told her why he done it—to learn her a lesson.

CARD 31

My brother done that. He quit school at fifteen. He went to continuation school till he was sixteen, and then he quit altogether. Now he can hardly get a job. I want to go in the navy and learn myself a trade.

CARD 32

I just made it up. I imagine how they feel when they get some of these rich kids. In books and movies you lotsa times read about 'em. Rich kids are spoiled. They hate everybody but themselves.

CARD 33

That's almost exactly like the pictures I saw, but instead of an orphanage, it was a woman's penitentiary. These girls always had a hard job of it, but this lady fixed it up and helped them out.

THEME ANALYSIS OF JACK'S STORIES

	FREQUENCY		COMPARISON WITH NORMS			
	<i>Number of Stories in Which Various Themes Occur (Total, 42 stories)</i>	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Q₁</i>	<i>Med</i>	<i>Q₃</i>	
Family relationships		26				x
Mother	18					x
Father	12					x
Family	3		x			
Parents	4				x	
Son	3				x	
Husband	7					x
Children	3					x
Home	..		x			
Wife	..		x			
Sister	4					x
Daughter	..		x			
Brother	4					x
Aggression		34				x
Death	7				x	
Crime	13					x
Criminal; murderer	3		x			
Scolding; nagging; disapproval	12					x
Violent death	11					x
fighting; arguments	6					x
Anger; rage; wrath	3		x			
Stealing; robbing	5		x			
Bullying	4					x
Ridicule; contempt	5					x
Resentment	7					x
Toughness	5					x
Economic concern		22				x
Money	11					x
Job; work	7				x	
Wealthy; rich	7					x
Poor	7					x
Punishment		12			x	
Police	3		x			
Punishment	7					x
Capture; apprehension	..		x			
Prison; jail	4		x			
Love		20				x
Marriage; being married	12					x
Boy-girl situations	12					x
Friends	..		x			
Love; falling in love	3		x			

THEME ANALYSIS OF JACK'S STORIES (Continued)

	FREQUENCY		COMPARISON WITH NORMS			
	<i>Number of Stories in Which Various Themes Occur (Total, 42 stories)</i>	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Q₁</i>	<i>Med</i>	<i>Q₃</i>	
Depression		4	x			
Discouragement	..		x			
Trouble	4					x
Separation; rejection		13				x
Distant places, trips	..		x			
Run away	5					x
Loneliness	4					x
Rejection	6					x
Desertion	5					x
Altruism		7		x		
Love and service to parents	4					
Hero	3					x
Excitement		..	x			
Anxiety		6	x			
Anxiety; worry	6					x
Fear; dread; alarm	..		x			
Success and ambition		11				x
Success	11		x			x
Ambition	..					
Repentance; reform		8		x		
Reform	4		x			
Lesson learned	6					x
Accident and illness		9		x		
Accident	6					x
Illness; sickness	..		x			
Doctors; nurses; hospitals	6					x
Injury; wounds	3					x
Thinking; decision		15				x
Wondering; thinking; musing	7					x
Deciding	9					x
School		8		x		
School	8					x
Positive emotion		8				x
Happiness	5		x			
Fun, good times	4					x

THEME ANALYSIS OF JACK'S STORIES (Continued)

	FREQUENCY		COMPARISON WITH NORMS			
	<i>Number of Stories in Which Various Themes Occur (Total, 42 stories)</i>	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Q₁</i>	<i>Med</i>	<i>Q₃</i>	
Escape		..	x			
Sociability		11				x
Parties; dances	8					x
Gangs	3					x
Morality; goodness		16				x
Goodness; rightness	7					x
Conformity	11					x
Strangeness; unusualness		..	x			
Place of residence		..				
City; farm; small town	..		x			
Concealment		..	x			
Badness; wrong		7				x
Bad companions	6					x
Wrong	3					x
Appearance		..	x			
Dress	..					
Guilt; conscience		11				x
Yearning; wanting		4				x
Parental attitude		..	x			
Jealousy; envy		..	x			
Age		..	x			
Entertainment		6				x
Activities; sport	6					x

CARD 34

It happened to me in the sixth grade. But I ain't no girl.

CARD 35

This reminds me of Rockefeller. He's got plenty of money, but he still ain't got health. With all the money hardly any doctors can help them. It just goes to show that money ain't everything.

CARD 36

There used to be a boy in our neighborhood. If we were gonna build huts or anything we'd always ask him to get the saw and hammer and all the tools. After awhile he caught on that we were using him for a sucker. From then on he cut out bringing the tools over.

CARD 37

This reminds me of lots of pictures you see about refugees. They come over like that. Sometimes when they come over they ain't got nobody to speak to. Some of the people in America are just stuck up anyway.

CARD 38

That really happened to my sister. I found out about it the other day. But I thought of it in moving pictures. Question: I thought something like that would happen to my sister. I never did like the boys and girls she palled around with.

CARD 39

This is just like a story I read. Only it was not about a prom. It was a safety-first story in a little pamphlet.

CARD 40

This reminds me of when I lived in Silver Spring. We had a chicken farm. Before that we were always getting colds in Suburban City. Then us kids moved to the country in Silver Spring. I used to run with the dogs. I didn't go to school yet, because I was only six years old. I had fun then. I went to school one year then in kindergarten.

CARD 41

This reminds me partly of my own house. My mother favored my brother and sister all the time. She never favored my two little sisters. I didn't care much then because I was out all the time, so I didn't care if she favored me or not. I always felt sorry for my little sisters though.

CARD 42

In the movies I saw where this guy squealed on the girl. She was going with a different fellow. The part where the father hit girl's boy friend, and they ran away—some girl actually did that in the neighborhood in Millerston.

Analysis of Jack's Stories¹

In analyzing the stories told by Jack there will be given first a description of his world and people in it as Jack sees it, and this will be followed by an analysis of his reaction to this fantasy situation. This arrangement follows the analysis suggested by Murray, which separates fantasies into *press*, or the environment as seen by the subject, and *need*, or the response the subject makes to this environment.

The most prominent feeling that Jack expresses is that of being rejected (7, 18, 20). He believes himself to be isolated, alone, and separated from other people (3, 6, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 22, 25, 31, 32, 37). We find the story of a poor girl who can't get a boy friend (3), of the skinny boy who is teased by his associates for being chicken-hearted and then, lonely, dreams of being a champion boxer (22); of the sister who cares for a boy after the parents' death, but treats him cruelly, saying that she doesn't have to care for him, so that finally the boy must run away (18); of the boy who will not give his father the pay earned by him when he hears that the father squanders it on women, is beaten by the father and his pay taken away, and is tossed out of the house (20); of the boy who finds himself alone in the great city, where "he can't find friends, and people walked by and never said hello like in the country" (18); or of the girl refugee in America, where no one will say hello to her and she is ignored and alone (37). He sees himself left alone without resources (32). He thinks of himself friendless (5, 18, 37). On a more symbolic level, he fantasies losing his belongings, as in the story of the girl who always loaned her money, but was never paid back (36) and the girl who left her suitcase and pocketbook unguarded in a railroad station while she went to get candy, and when she came back her pocketbook and all her belongings had disappeared (37). He sees himself being refused when he asks for something, as in the story of the boy who asked his mother and also his father and his sister for money to buy a football, and was told that they did not have it (25). In five stories (6, 12, 17, 20, 38) the father dies or deserts, and in one story both parents are dead (31). Death, for Jack, may represent a kind of separation, and the theme of death

¹ The numbers in parentheses refer to the story numbers.

plays an important part in his stories (6, 11, 12, 17, 18, 20, 25, 31, 32, 37). A girl's mother dies of heart failure (6). A son turns criminal, is shot and killed, and his grieving brothers and father bury him (11). A mother and father die in an automobile crash (12). A mother, widowed, lectures her son on how she must rely on him, since the older brother has run away (17). A boy's mother and father die. The boy, cared for by a sister who hates him, runs away to the city (18). A boy's mother dies, and the boy is glad for her sake, for the cruel father beat her (20). A girl leaves school against her parents wishes, and then her parents were killed in a crash (31). A rich father loses his money and dies of shock (32). A father who goes to work too soon after an illness, as did Jack's father, dies (37). Finally, Jack fantasies family break-up, as many of the foregoing stories indicate. Story 12 illustrates this clearly. Both father and mother of a once happy family get killed in an automobile crash, and a boy, an older brother, an older sister, and three little sisters carry on alone.

The Oedipus situation appears, but in a somewhat distorted form (8, 20, 29, 31). In two stories (8, 31) another man comes into the life of a married woman. Because of Jack's confused childhood history, it would be futile to attempt to speculate as to the significance of this theme. Plausibly it could be reference to the promiscuous relations of Jack's mother and his jealousy of her lovers. Not enough is known, however, of all aspects of Jack's early family to count this as more than a speculation. It is possible that it relates fundamentally to Jack's jealousy of his father's position with his mother. In story 20 the relationship is reversed; there it is reported that a boy's father was seen with another woman, spending money foolishly. In still another story a girl transfers her favor from one boy to another. "She began going with one fellow and ditched the others. They got mad and said they would never go with her again. She only went with one guy but he got mad at her also and broke up the relationship." From that time she had no other boy friends (29). It seems clear that Jack is sensitive to unfaithfulness in love affairs.

A second large group of themes under the general heading "rejection" indicate cruelty and persecution. From his stories it would appear that Jack has been the subject of considerable domination and cruelty (20, 21, 33, 41, 42). A father kicks his son out of the house after beating him and taking away his money (20). A bully threatens

a boy in order to take away his job (21). The girls in the orphanage are worked half to death and are given rotten food (33). A mother gives her youngest daughter old cast-off clothes and makes her work hard, while favoring an older child (41). A cruel stepfather makes a girl work hard after the mother's death, allows no dates, and strikes the boy she likes (42). At least three stories tell of persecution by the rich and powerful, even after the persecuted has been generous to them. A doctor who treats the poor free of charge is put into prison because of the death of a rich girl, but in the end the doctor is freed on the petition of the poor people he helped (9). A boy held on a manslaughter charge undergoes three trials before he is acquitted (13). A girl who is generous to her college classmates hears them telling what a sucker she is (36).

Notwithstanding Jack's assertion that his father was a good and kind man, he tells stories of fathers and husbands who are no good, drink heavily, are cruel to their wives, and desert their families (18, 19, 20, 31, 42). There are stories depicting family quarrels (8, 20).

Another group of stories report accidents and injuries that happen to the head of the family and lead to economic insecurity (2, 10, 12, 17, 18, 32, 37). A wife learns that her husband fell off a horse and broke a leg, and she is wondering what they will have to eat (2). A man is hurt when working on a ladder (10). A mother tells a teacher at school that after her husband died the oldest son ran away and she will have to depend on her youngest son to support her when he is old enough to work (17). A girl whose father lost his wealth in stocks and later dies of a shock has to go to work and gets a job as a nurse (32). There is an underlying current of anxiety under the threat of economic insecurity following these accidents and illnesses and the loss of the father or the mother.

Occurring less frequently are stories that portray threatening mother figures. The oldest sister was mean to her younger brother, hated him, and told him she did not have to keep him if she did not want to (18). The woman in charge of the orphanage is cruel to the girls in her charge (33). The girl who became ungovernable after her father died is nagged by her mother. The sister who is in the reformatory on a morals charge is without doubt a picture of Jack's own sister, with whom he has identified her (38). The woman who owns a boarding house is referred to as an "old crab" (4). There are

undoubtedly real experiences paralleling these fantasies of rejection, separation, isolation, cruelty, and persecution.

The mother's favoritism of a sister and a brother is depicted in one story (47). There are some stories in which friendly, adopting, and protecting figures appear (25, 29, 33).

Jack has made a number of adjustments both in fantasy and in behavior and personality development to these situations which threaten his security. The stories naturally portray only the fantasy responses to these conditions. First should be noted fantasies of aggression. Hostility to father and mother figures (2, 6, 20) and antagonism and hate in general are shown (4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 18). The boy who was beaten by his father, who deprived him of his money, took the dollar his father left him and ran away from home (20). A boy who is a black sheep in the family hated his brothers, hated his parents, and hated school (11). The boy whose sister was mean to him decided to run away and go to the city (18). In story 38 Jack himself makes a clear connection between the death of a parent and leaving home. After the father died, a girl "decided she could have a better time not minding. She didn't do work around the house and went with a gang of girls."

Many of Jack's stories tell of wrongdoing, delinquency, and criminality (4, 5, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 42). The boys in many of his stories are "tough" (1, 10, 11, 14, 27, 36). At least two stories (17, 34) which contain episodes of bad behavior in school, and a poor school record correspond to Jack's own school record. In three stories there is a description of a boy who belongs to a gang (11, 23, 38). It should be remembered that Jack himself has been a member of gangs of young boys, and before coming to live in his present foster home, he associated with boys who were tough. Two stories tell of admiration for and imitating the behavior of a tough boy (17, 27), just as Jack had admired and identified himself with his brother. One story tells of a girl who "went wild" (32). Among the wrongdoings are peeping (4), making a "sucker" of a boy (5), kicking a ball through a window (7), murder (11, 27), manslaughter (13), sexual play (14), stealing (15), misbehavior in school (17), robbing and smoking (19), stealing (23), staying out late (26), snobbishness (28, 32). Another form of aggression is bullying, as described in four stories (19, 21, 27, 42). Jack can fan-

tasy retaliation, revenge, and spite because of unfair treatment of a boy by a girl who always kept him waiting when they had a date. In retaliation the boy finally made her wait a long time for him (30). Wrongdoing is a kind of revenge for unkind treatment. The girls in the orphanage, for instance, disregarded the sewing and cooking instructions in revenge for harsh treatment (33).

Somewhere in Jack's experiences, however, there have been forces which have pointed out to him the right way, with the consequence that guilt is aroused by his aggression. A mother died as a result of harsh and evil treatment from her husband (20). Punishment follows criminality (11, 23, 38), and wild and unrestrained criminality may get one into trouble (17, 26, 27, 37). A boy who misbehaved in school was reported by the teacher to his mother (17). A boy who stayed out late at night is disciplined by his mother (26). A boy who consorts with a tough boy commits robbery and murder and is sent to a reform school (27). However, trouble can be avoided if you live right (39). The boy who ran away from his cruel father has been sorry ever since for what he did (20).

These tendencies toward aggression and wrongdoing lead to conflict. Opposing tendencies are operating in the same individual. Throughout his stories there is conflict between temptation and resistance to it (26, 31, 39). A decision has to be made between a life of crime and "going straight" (15, 39). A boy may choose between reading books and liking people and going out with a gang of bad boys who lead him to criminal deeds (11). The girls in the orphanage must choose between rebellion and co-operation with the matron (33). Of two sisters, one married and left home, the other stayed with her mother and helped as much as she could (41).

These aggressive trends naturally aroused guilt, which Jack manages by various methods, principally repentance and reform (11, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 27). In one story a criminal who commits murder and hates his father, his brother, and his school repents and wishes he had read books and liked everybody (11). The boy who misbehaved in school and then learned that he would have to support his widowed mother decides to reform and be obedient (17). The boy who doesn't want to be like his drunken father refuses to join a gang whose members smoke and steal (19). The boy who ran away from his cruel father because he beat him and robbed him is, never-

theless, sorry for his father, who is too old to work (20). A decent boy, who is persuaded to commit a crime by a tough boy he admires, is sorry he ever met the tough boy (27). Throughout his stories Jack is sensitive to right and wrong, and frequently the character who goes wrong in the stories eventually sees the error of his ways (29, 31, 38). Thus, in many stories the boy decides to "go straight" (1, 5, 15, 17, 19, 21, 38). Reform is also linked to the value of education, which evidently is one of the conflicts with which Jack struggles (31). Moral and ethical standards are highly developed in Jack.

Frequently his repentance leads to his assuming responsibility and making reparation for his waywardness (12). Especially, he feels responsible to his mother and for her care (17). There are stories in which the hero sacrifices himself and reduces guilt through acts of kindness (9, 12, 16, 21, 25, 31, 33). A doctor helps poor people in distress (9). A boy tries to save a dog who runs in front of an automobile (13). A woman marries a man she dislikes in order to provide for her children (31). A boy who is well off befriends a poor boy, brings him into his house, and treats him as a brother (16). A friend prevents a bully from beating a small boy (21). A woman gives a boy the toys he wants (25). A kind society woman does her best for orphanage girls (33). Throughout these stories, in addition to identifying with the generous person, Jack is projecting his wishes to be befriended and helped by the person who is wealthy. Themes of pity for the unfortunate occur in at least two stories (20, 33). Many of Jack's stories have a happy ending, which also indicate his guilt at the aggressive and delinquent themes which pervade many of the stories (15). To safeguard doubly his desire to improve his own behavior, in true missionary fashion he has the urge to reform others (19).

Another method of dealing with his hostile environment is to run away from home and escape from the disagreeable situation (1, 12, 18, 20, 31, 42). So a boy runs away from his widowed mother (17). A boy leaves home because of a cruel sister (18). A boy escapes from a cruel father (20). A rich girl wants to leave the job she took after she lost her money (3). A girl runs away from a cruel stepfather (42). This theme of escape is akin to the desire to quit school (31).

Aggression and subsequent reactions to it have been pointed out as the main ways in which Jack reacts to his rejecting and hostile past.

The other important method by which he attempts to meet his problems is by winning love. In its many manifestations the desire to belong is one of the principal themes running throughout the stories. Jack has a deep wish to be a cherished member of a home and a family. He would like his family to be stable (1, 8). Notwithstanding the disappointments he has suffered in his early life, there is nostalgia for the past (1, 40). In addition to a stable home, he wishes for good and understanding parents (25, 29, 33). In one story, in which a woman marries a man she does not like for the children's sake (31), he shows his great need for security within the family. In addition to kind parents, he yearns for good sibling relationships. The rich boy takes the orphan into his home, and they become pals (16). Jack's desire for love shows itself symbolically in many ways. One boy asks his mother for money (25), and the desire for money appears in several stories. In at least two stories there is a desire for food (7, 29). A boy "wanted to buy something very bad—a football" (25); the same boy is pleased at receiving a gift (25). There is a passive desire to be invited to a dance (3). The desire for adoption is evident (16). In an accident a cop (father figure) takes the part of the boy who was driving too fast (13). Clemency and pardon are granted to the man who has been in jail. Jack's desire for love is exemplified in his fondness for dogs (1, 13, 40). Even death is used by Jack as a means of obtaining admiration and love; a form of self-pity (11, 25, 35). The black sheep in the family who turned gangster and was killed is mourned by his father and his brothers. In the funeral procession his father is walking in the rear "almost dead with sorrow" (11).

In addition to craving love, Jack also wants recognition, which is akin to and a sign of love. He would like to have his parents brag about him (7). He would like to be respectable, instead of a heavy drinker like his father (19). He would like to be looked up to as a leader by his companions for taking the initiative in building a swimming pool (28). He even desires the notoriety that comes from being a criminal (11).

Love and marriage are romantic to Jack. In his thoughts happiness comes through love and marriage and the establishment of a family (1, 3, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 24, 37). Being in love is expressed by singing and dancing (24). Parents felt joy in their reconciliation after

a threatened divorce, knowing that they may now live with their children (8). Jack's yearning for a happy home life is expressed through the remote wish to have friendly neighbors (17).

Related to this desire for love, security, and a happy home is his craving for pleasure (26) and his love of the outdoors and of playing games (1, 28). Undoubtedly this represents an autoerotic trend carried over from childhood. When the going became tough within the family, then he would seek solace in pleasures with the gang.

This autoerotic tendency leads to the acceptance of unrestrained sexual activity. The woman who owns a rooming house peeps into a room where people are shouting and dancing (4). Sex is something that one feels free to engage in when he gets drunk (14). Related to this is Jack's curiosity (4, 21, 36), the existence of which he verifies by his denial of it (21).

Notwithstanding Jack's desire for love and security, he shows the burned child tendency. His wretched experiences have made him unable to trust others and have free relations with them. He tends to be bashful (29), indicating his insecurity in a new relationship. The boy who left home to work his way up in a big city has always wanted to go back to the farm, but has never done so (18).

Jealousy is a theme which appears vividly in several stories (3, 5, 8, 21, 29, 41, 42). Jack has had many occasions to be jealous in his life. He felt that his father and mother favored his older brother and sister over himself in his family. His mother has consorted with strange men, and in his new foster home he must yield first place to his foster parent's own son. In his stories a poor working girl is jealous of a boy and a girl who are walking together and wishes that she had a date (3). A boy is angry at a girl who encourages the attentions of another boy (5). A husband is jealous because of his wife's interest in another man (8). A bully tries to take a boy's job from him by force (21). A conceited girl makes enemies of jealous girls from whom she lures their boy friends (29). A jealous boy tells a cruel stepfather that another boy has made a date with his stepdaughter, although she had been forbidden to make dates (42).

As a result of his experiences, Jack has various twisted and distorted points of view with regard to life. He believes himself to be the victim of fate and blames external forces for his sufferings and shortcomings. Fate made him encounter a tough boy, who got him

into trouble (27). A conceited girl loses her friends (29). A stubborn girl quits school and has difficulty getting a job (31). A father loses his wealth by trading on the stock market (32).

Jack is very sensitive to the distinction between the rich and the poor (1, 2, 9, 15, 16, 19, 20, 25, 33, 37). He evinces considerable hostility toward the rich (3, 32, 35). The rich are spoiled (32, 35); they are proud (29, 41) and do not show proper appreciation. Jack has a sour-grapes attitude. He has persuaded himself that money can't buy everything (35), that the rich are without friends (37), and that in the end the poor will triumph (9).

Jack has high ideals and aspirations of a not-too-realistic sort. He aspires to success and power through his own achievements in order to gain a position in which insecurity will be abolished (1, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25, 33, 37, 40). A doctor becomes a hero by saving a city from an epidemic and by treating poor people (9). The boy who ran away from his cruel sister worked his way up to be the head of a firm (18). The skinny boy becomes the champion boxer (22). The boy whose mother will not give him money, works and earns more in that way, concluding that it is better to work than to ask favors of one's mother (25). A girl who misbehaved in school found one day that she liked to study; after that she got the highest marks in the class (34). There is satisfaction in working hard and saving money (40).

Jack has aspirations toward a high social status. A woman's husband has a good job, buys her a watch, and will soon give her money for a permanent wave; they have a new home (1). A girl refugee, alone and penniless, becomes the boss's secretary and marries the boss's son (37). A rich boy brings a poor pal into his house, and his mother likes him so well that she adopts him (16). Jack admires the doctor (9) or the lawyer (11). He would like to continue his education (31). He would like to leave the gang and become respectable and reform (15, 19).

But to succeed, one must work hard (18, 25, 37, 40). Success comes to the man who keeps his job (1, 21). Advantages accrue to the boy or the girl who studies hard in school and gets good marks (34). Even with a poor start, one can make good (23). These aspirations, however, are solely in the realm of fantasy, and actually Jack is making a poor record in school.

A close scrutiny of the stories indicate a strong feminine identification on Jack's part. He finds it easier to relate a story from the point of view of the girl than of the boy in pictures in (1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 28, 30, 34). In pictures showing both male and female characters his stories are told from the standpoint of the girl. There is a noticeably passive attitude throughout the stories (2, 21). Jack wants gifts and expects good fortune to come to him, whether by chance or as a result of hard work. A boy brought up in a poor neighborhood is adopted by rich people (23). He is vaguely aware of these tendencies and disclaims them by despising the boy who is called "sissy" (19). In his associations to story 34, in which a girl who has been habitually disobedient in school decided to study and make good marks, he states, "This happened to me in the 6th grade, but I ain't no girl." This feminine identification and passive tendency can be accounted for in part by his deep longing for his father (2), which prevents him from the normal antagonism to and identification with a male figure. On the other hand, his hostility toward his mother (38) is such that he has controlled it by identifying himself with a female figure. In order to ingratiate himself with his father, for whose death he feels some guilt, he must compete with his mother and take on a feminine role.

Throughout these stories fear, anxiety, and depression are noticeably lacking. Jack has managed his difficulties by the most direct route, aggression, in the first place, and by yearning for love and the recognition that comes from success in the second place.

*Implications for Education Growing Out of
the Interpretation of the Stories*

The meaning of much of Jack's school behavior becomes clear in the light of this interpretation of his fantasies. His incorrigibility is his protest against the harsh circumstances of his early life. He wants desperately to be loved and accepted, but is afraid that his overtures will be rebuffed. His pranks in school are a continuous attempt on his part to test his teachers in order to see whether he can trust them, but his aggression makes him feel guilty and he apologizes and attempts to reform. An understanding of these deeper motivational factors should help Jack's teachers to adopt a more sympa-

thetic and realistic attitude toward him. Jack needs more than merely to be accepted by his teachers. His shortcomings and difficult behavior should be condoned as far as possible in the light of its significance. It would help Jack's teachers to become aware of Jack's aspirations and longings and his willingness to work in order to achieve these goals. However, it must be recognized that other tendencies in Jack have prevented the fruition of these ambitions and aspirations, which exist only in fantasy. Jack needs a firm, but kind, hand. His work needs constant checking in the spirit, not of punishment or retaliation, but of kindliness. Jack has shown by his response in his art class that he has possibilities which might be fruitful if he could feel secure and be under the guidance of someone who believes in him.

Presumably, also, Jack would respond to a masculine figure with whom he could identify and whom he could follow as a leader. A strong man, perhaps a teacher in the school, could help Jack to mobilize his positive tendencies, which are struggling for expression, and could help Jack to start on the road toward achieving the success and security which he craves.

XV. CASE OF JIMMY

JIMMY WAS SELECTED as the second case to be presented because he represents a boy who has excellent adjustment. He has a fine reputation at school with his teachers. His home life is all that could be desired, and he himself is stable and healthy in his outlook.

Face and Identification Material and Excerpts from School Records

School—Senior High School

Age—17 years and 10 months

Grade—12 A1

Course—Academic

<i>Test Results</i>	<i>I.Q.</i>
Pintner Rapid Survey, 1935	119
Pintner Rapid Survey, 1938	118
Henmon-Nelson, 1937	117

Marks in 12A1 Grade

	<i>First Term</i>	<i>Second Term</i>
English	80	80
Ancient history	90	85
Economics	85	85
American history	80	80
Latin	85	85
Health	P	P
Gym	P	F

Introductory Interview with Jimmy

In school Jimmy does the best work in psychology and literature. He likes ancient history least, because of the teacher. Although his parents advise him as to his course, they leave the choice to him, but he says he always respects their advice. He stated without hesitation that he liked his school and had many friends. However, he believes that the school should be coeducational, for he thinks that with girls in the school the fellows would be more worldly-wise. He would

prefer Mayfair College, but actually he will probably attend Ransome, since it will be less expensive. He plans to take a liberal arts course. He would like to write for a vocation, but he specified advertising or personnel work in a big company as the second and third choices. Writing, however, is what he really wants. He has worked hard at it and does not tire of it, for it holds his interest. If there is no opportunity to write, he believes he could use psychology in personnel work. He likes to play ball, to read, and to listen to the radio.

He has worked in a book store as stock boy and salesman. He has been a member of a baseball team of the Rotary, a member of the Debating Club in school, and once was a member of the Drama Club. He is fond of reading poetry and plays. Tinkering with mechanical things fascinates him, but these are somewhat out of his sphere. He is not musically inclined. When younger, he collected stamps, but he has tired of this habit. Now he is interested in collecting books and would like to own complete sets of the poets and the classics. He wrote the script for the school play. He finds satisfaction in having many friends. He states that he used to go with older boys, but now his companions are more nearly of his own age. His mother complains because his popularity keeps him from spending enough time on his school work. When asked what is likely to embarrass him, he said that he is embarrassed when his father and his mother boast about him before strangers and try to make him read some of his poems aloud.

Jimmy has one sister one year older than he who is a student in the girls' high school. He gets along well with his sister, and occasionally they go out together. His mother thinks he should take her out more. They have occasional scraps, which do not last long. He states that his sister is not beautiful, but is interesting and has a nice personality and is full of fun. He does not go out much with his sister's friends, because he finds them a little too silly. He speaks warmly of his father and his mother and calls them pals. He plays ball and tennis with his father and kids his mother. Although they do not rule him with an "iron hand," they command his respect. Neither of his parents is worrisome or nervous. Jimmy does not worry about his own health. He goes to see movies rarely, for he finds love in the movies too "mushy," but he likes particularly comedies and mysteries. Above all he likes to see plays. He does not have regular chores at home, but will co-operate in helping with the dishes or

whatever else is expected of him. He confesses that he has a bad habit of putting things off. He worries occasionally about his school-work. Approximately a year earlier his father had had an acute attack of jaundice. He sometimes worries when his mother is out late playing bridge and lies awake waiting for her to return.

Report of the Interview with Jimmy's Mother

Jimmy was the second child in the family. The birth was normal, and he was nursed for about six months. The weaning was easy. Jimmy was a very good baby. His sister, on the other hand, was a difficult baby. He has never had a fight in his life. He has a nice personality and loads of friends. He thinks everything and everyone nice, and his mother believes that he is in for a shock later when he comes up against people who will try to harm him. His teething, walking, and talking were normal. According to his mother, he did not crawl, but at about a year and one-half he just got up and walked. There was no difficulty with toilet training, and there has never been any bed wetting. She began training him at about six months. As a child, he ate everything, and even now he eats all the vegetables unlike her husband. His sister is more choosy with her food. (The mother states here "you will think I am prejudiced.")

Jimmy's breathing is bad as a result of an accident in which his nose was broken. They expect to have this corrected by an operation during the coming summer. He has never had nightmares or night terrors. He and his sister both have rooms of their own. As an infant, he had diphtheria. Two years ago he had a bad facial infection resulting from squeezing a pimple on his face.

In school he has made normal progress and has never been skipped or left back. He is fond of school and is very active in school activities. He wrote the school play and helped with the yearbook.

Jimmy writes a lot of poems at home. He plays baseball and tennis and swims. He has developed pictures at home. He has his own dog, named Captain. His parents gave him the dog in return for his promise to give up football; his mother was afraid that he would get hurt. She said that she would give the dog away if he played again. He has many friends, and even the parents of his friends like him. His mother states that he does more work for her than her daughter does. His sister broke her arm, and since the family were

all sorry for her she was excused from household duties. This relationship has persisted and as a consequence Jimmy washes dishes, carries out ashes, washes windows, etc. Over the holidays he has worked in the Warners book store. Jimmy does all these things willingly. What he makes on the job, he gives to me, and I keep it in a bank in his name. His father gives him an allowance, which he uses for school activities. He has been away from home for a few weeks during the summer; he usually works. A few years ago he worked in a cake shop, a job which he found himself. He belongs to a fraternity known as the "P.U.P.S." His mother does not know what these letters stand for.

He does not go out with girls very much, and has few dates. He goes with girls only when there are formal affairs. Jimmy thinks he is interested in girls, and he has been out with girls from the Girls' High School. He does not want to take them out more than once, for then the girls think he is serious. His sister's girl friends hang around to see him, but he does not bother with them. He thinks they are kids, because they are his sister's friends.

He wants to be a playwright. He reads plays out loud, and his mother hears him talking aloud in the livingroom many times. He reads Shakespeare out loud and before the mirror. For his birthday he asked for an Old and New Testament; and would rather have that than something to wear. He took a girl from Stanburg, whom he met at a dance, to the school prom and thought she was nice.

He has no sex curiosity and never speaks about it. When his mother was in the hospital with a miscarriage, he came to visit her and said "Mother, don't worry, I am taking care of home." His mother asked "Do you know what happened?" He would not let her talk about it; and ignored her condition at home, although she was six and one half months pregnant. The baby lived only a few hours, and it was a great loss to the mother.

Jimmy is shy and modest and not at all forward. When he talks with a girl, he does not want me to listen in. He is also shy and modest before his sister. He likes her and helps her a lot with her work. When he goes out, he asks her opinion about his necktie. He even laughs at her jokes, and that's something. He daydreams a lot.

He has no nervous mannerisms. The mother admitted that she was nervous in the interview situation. She tends to stutter when tense.

The mother is somewhat excitable and "hollers" at her family and gives them a slap. Her husband would reason with the children and tends to be kind and calm. They get along well together. Jimmy calls his father "Curly," because he is bald. The father talks backward when he gets excited. He laughs at the jokes of the children. The father originally studied accounting, but is now managing a florist's shop for the past year.

Jimmy is a very cheerful boy and is never unhappy. His high school years have been the happiest of his life. He is calm and not tense, and he seldom shows a temper. He is very energetic and active. He gets up early Sunday mornings to play ball. He is a leader in many activities.

He usually carries out his plans, and I cannot change his mind. When he tells me he is going some place and I object, he goes nevertheless. He gets his own way. Once he went to a concert to hear Paul Robeson sing, even though I did not want him to go in the middle of the week.

Jimmy admires several of his teachers very much. He is independent and does not want his teachers to help him just because they are friends. He does not want to be obligated in this way. He does not have racial prejudices or religious prejudices, but he is self-critical. He is very affectionate and never walks out of the house without kissing his mother goodby. However, he does not kiss his sister or his father now.

The father's father is living, and there are three brothers and sisters in her family, all of them married. Jimmy sees his aunts and uncles. The family is looking forward to his graduation, and his uncle is coming from a distant state to attend it. The mother's mother is living, and there are six children in that family, three of them married.

Jimmy's mother and father have six rooms in a two-family house.

Jimmy's Autobiography

MY LIFE

So far as I've lived it;
So far as I understand it.

Born? Definitely, on July 18, 1923, in the old Beth David Hospital in Warner; it is now an Old Ladies Home. I am told that I was an ugly looking brat, with an exaggerated pair of ears and a long, cadaverous, wrinkled face; however, I cried very little, had an attractive temperament and was extremely good natured. My Mother and I did not stay in the hospital very long, for the place was quarantined and we were rushed home in the middle of the night.

My first time out of doors was in a brilliant brown carriage, proudly pushed by my father. Before we had made much progress, it began to rain, and my father ran home with the carriage and I before him; upon reaching home with the carriage, he reached into the carriage to lift me out, but I was not there. Naturally he became excited and was about to retrace his steps, when he heard my hollow cry coming from the bottom of the carriage. He searched through the blankets once more, threw them from the carriage, and found me in the bottle compartment with the rest of the wet diapers.

My first home was in a three-family house owned by my mother's parents; we lived upstairs and they beneath us. I remember my grandfather repeatedly calling, "Suby" to me, and I would answer "Zeida" (Jewish for grandfather). I remember his great hands brightly colored from the dyes in his glove factory; I can still smell the dampness and the steam used to shape the pelts; most vividly, I see a little man, half clothed and sweating who worked a great machine, that expelled steam from many places; then I see a great fire in a greater furnace and a black mountain of coal; and lastly I see a small dingy, dusty room, with a high slanting desk, a small green-shaded light, and an enormous black ledger where my grandfather kept his accounts.

My sister was born twenty-two months before I, but I remember nothing of her until the time when she was lost. I was about four and a half years old, and we lived in Bryantville. I remember the policeman coming to the house, and all the neighbors; they all seemed to talk at once, and my mother seemed so mussed up and excited. Her eyes seemed very large and I became frightened, but when she looked at me again she suddenly seemed very calm. We found my sister after a two-hour search.

We had a cat which we had while we lived in Bryantville, because there was a butcher store beneath us and my Mother did not want to have any mice. No one in the family remembers that cat but me; he or she was small and gray, with a red nose and we called him, as I remember, "Tabby." There lived in our house a boy, about four years older than I and very heavy and sloppy; I did not like to have him near me and I even

despised him more when I saw how rough he treated the cat. He once dropped her from our second-story porch and made her nose bleed; this made me sick to my stomach, and I wanted to do something to him, but something or someone stopped me.

I had my tonsils out about this time, but all I can remember is a bright blue light and a million doctors and nurses holding me down. When I awoke, I recall the blue night-shirt with pink figures I was wearing; and my embarrassment when the nurse gave me a cold-rimmed bed pan; and the cheerful smile of the boy or girl, in the bed next to me, who handed me a book with the picture of a donkey on it.

I entered school about this time, but cried when my Mother wanted to leave me there alone, so my sister stayed with me the first few days.

I only went to school in Bryantville for a short time, for we soon moved to Suburban City.

I always liked school as a whole, but could not stand the schedule. The idea of moving when the bell rings, and having to read when you want to sing or write; this still annoys me, and it is a rare occasion when I force myself to do something I am not up to doing. I have seen fellows cram before exams and have seen them come to tears when their marks were not up to standard; I believe I can truthfully say I have never crammed for a test or worried about my marks. I never like those childish assignments teachers have been giving us since the first grade; such as pasting clippings or pictures in a notebook. I like things that make me think and imagine things; such as the poetry in English; stories with indefinite endings; stories of the supernatural; anecdotes about great men; cowboy songs; songs with complicated themes; certain words; dusty old books; complicated pictures; finely and daintily carved statues, coins, plates, etc.; interesting rather than beautiful faces; well-built bodies; peoples' eyes and the shape of their mouths; odd and ugly figures, such as the gargoyles on Notre Dame in Paris; and most of all I like to watch people, the sky, and nature.

I know I have many friends, and I believe I understand and know the idiosyncrasies of them all. I know my ready wit and humor attracts many of them, but still I honestly endeavor to be sincere to them all. I do not believe I have ever met anyone in whom I did not find something interesting and attractive.

Only certain moving pictures attract me, but any play at all excites me. I have been in very many plays in school, and when I was in the ninth grade two other boys and I wrote a play that lasted for an hour and a half. We all acted in it, and everyone seemed to enjoy it.

One of the most interesting persons I think I have met, to date, is Mrs. M., my English teacher. She has traveled; is clean and neat in thoughts

and appearance; she knows every student, but not by his name, by his characteristics; she can talk of everything from cleaning a chicken to the philosophies of Plato; and she is natural, dignified, but not snobbish, and an altogether great human being.

As far as I can see, I believe my interests have always been the same fundamentally. I want to study philosophy, psychology, literature, and people. I hope some day to have some of my writing published, but whether I do or not I am positive that nothing will ever make me stop writing. One thing bothers me, that is that my Mother and Father, I believe, although they have not interfered too much, do not think the subjects I want to study are practical enough; others have told me this, too, but I do not think I will ever be satisfied unless I study these subjects and take a chance at writing.

I believe I omitted one of my likes, that is, girls; I like dark complected, cheerful, energetic, intelligent, carefree, quick-witted girls, who act natural and who are practical.

Statement Concerning Jimmy from His Teachers

TEACHER A

He is a very likable kid. He strives to please his teachers. He is very neat in appearance. He gives the impression that his folks are keenly interested in what he is doing. Though slightly aggressive, he is reserved—paradoxical, but true. He goes with a crowd like himself, except that perhaps his friends are more aggressive than he.

TEACHER B

He is a friendly co-operative boy. He sometimes comes with the line that he can't get into the proper rhythm for his work. He is a good student sometimes—sometimes a little off the mark—but always forthright.

On the rating scale, "dreaming" was left unmarked, because it was on the left side and so was considered derogatory. In response to direct questions, after being reassured, he was rated as a dreamer.

TEACHER C

He is nice and is supposed to be pretty smart. He is friendly. I think he is more or less of a leader, but not rough or aggressive.

TEACHER D

I lived with the family for ten years. The boy is not a leader. He is a fair student.

Statements Concerning Jimmy from Other Boys

BOY A

I don't like him very well. I have known him for a number of years, as we've been in the same grade since the second grade. He does study and gets good marks. I don't think he is a good mixer. He goes with just a certain gang of fellows. The rest aren't good enough for him. He's a wise guy and likes to make cracks, but he won't take a joke either. We had an argument in history class a couple of weeks ago. I called him a liar when he blamed me for slapping him, but I didn't do it. We didn't hit each other. Maybe I'm biassed. He wouldn't go out of the way to be decent.

BOY B

I like him a lot. I'd rather be with him than any other fellow. He has a wonderful sense of humor, is friendly and clean-cut. He is not a leader in activities, but the fellows crowd around him when he tells a story. He is popular and a regular fellow.

The Stories Told in Response to the Pictures

CARD 1 (3 SECONDS)

The girl is expecting a letter from possibly a lover—because she is a young girl. It is probably a sad letter breaking off her engagement, for there isn't a light in her eye. Now that she has the letter, she looks sad. After getting enough letters from this lover, she fell in love with the mailman.

CARD 2 (3 SECONDS)

The woman is knitting, and she hears a knock at the door. She is knitting for her son in the Army. She can't understand who can be at the door, for she doesn't expect callers. She has a funny feeling that something is wrong. She gets a letter which says, "Son is dead." (Letter is carried over from last picture.)

CARD 3 (5 SECONDS)

The girl is most likely studious, but she doesn't like to be. She is forced to be. She is not neat about herself, and boys aren't attracted to her. She is reading a book. She sees a fellow she likes very much. A girl she knows who hasn't her brains is stealing her fellow away because she is not as feminine or as attractive as the other girl. She plans how to get him back by reading love stories and getting away from heavy reading in order to learn how to attract men.

CARD 4 (6 SECONDS)

The landlady doesn't permit cooking in her rooms. A few of the young tenants are most likely out of jobs, so on one Christmas Eve they got together what they had and are making a feast in one of the tenant's rooms. The landlady sees them. She knows what they expect from her. She opens the door fast as if she's going to holler at them. Instead she wishes them a Merry Christmas, brings her food upstairs, and they all eat in that room.

CARD 5 (7 SECONDS)

They are high school boys and girls. One girl likes one fellow very much. They had a quarrel. It was probably trivial, but it seems important to them. She is going out with another fellow on the football team, the boy who beat the fellow she liked out of that position. She is doing this to make him jealous, but he's unaffected. He sees through her plan. He gets another girl. Each goes with a person he and she don't like to dance with. By chance each must dance together. They wander off, make up, and spend a wonderful evening.

CARD 6 (5 SECONDS)

A girl is called for a date. She is used to making dates on the phone. You can see that from her calm way of talking. She has a lovely voice and spirit. You can see that from her hair and the way her face and mouth are shaped. She is being a good sport about the date. She doesn't like the fellow. He is "dead," a "foul ball." He is one of those fellows who adds the check at the table. She is forced to go with him. He is from her home town. She will probably meet her boy friend. They'll take this fellow home, ditch him, and go out together.

CARD 7 (2 SECONDS)

Mrs. Flaherty and O'Brien are talking about the weather, their recipes, and baking. Mrs. Flaherty's daughter is getting married. Mrs. Flaherty is both happy and sad. Mrs. O'Brien offers her solace. "I've three married sons. I am so happy I have grandchildren." "Yes," says Mrs. Flaherty, "but this is a daughter. She is more delicate." Mrs. O'Brien says, "No. Girls are better able to take care of themselves than boys. They have more home training." Mrs. Flaherty invites her to the wedding. Mrs. Flaherty goes on reporting over the back fence. Twenty or thirty years later Mrs. Flaherty's daughter is talking over the back fence to Mrs. O'Brien's daughter-in-law over the back fence and so on down the line.

CARD 8 (6 SECONDS)

Here are two young people, perhaps just married or engaged. He's looking at her gently with a hand on her shoulder. They'd like to know what the future holds for them. They consult a crystal gazer. It was foolish to do that. They should take life as it comes and not try to know what is going to happen, for the future holds sadness and it will make their present life sad. The crystal gazer tells them that their first son will die. When the second son is born, the mother will die and the son will go bad. The young man is enraged. He breaks the crystal ball and pushes the man aside. True to form, the first son dies and on the arrival of the second son, the mother seemed to die for no apparent reason. The father was madly in love with the mother and lost all control of himself. He took to drink. He lost his job. He took to stealing and went to jail. The second son alone loved his father and decided to get even with the cops for taking his father away. A few years later he landed alongside of his father in jail.

CARD 9 (5 SECONDS)

An old fellow in jail is thinking back on his young life. All of a sudden he decides that he was treated wrong as a youth. He must get out and help other men go right. (This is a story I wanted to write.) He escapes and goes to another town, where he acquires clothes by hook or crook. He decides he is going back to stealing. One day—night—while walking through the park, a young fellow rushes up to him, jabs a gun in his ribs and tells him to "stick 'em up." The old fellow knows the young fellow is a novice and says, "Suppose I won't." The young fellow says, "I'll—have to—have to kill—no I couldn't!" He brushes his eyes and sits down. The old fellow sits alongside of him, and talks to him. He says, "No need to do that. I'll tell you a story about a young fellow. He was married, as you are. Things went wrong for him, too. He had never done anything wrong, but things got so black that he got a few drinks to get courage and robbed a fellow. When he went home and told his wife, she was heartbroken. He promised he would never do it again. But the next time things looked black again. It came easier to him now, for his will was weaker. He did it again and again. Finally it wasn't long before his wife came to jail to visit him. She made just a few visits and then died of a broken heart. Now the old fellow is an old bum who is trying to go straight, but can't." Upon hearing the story the young fellow promised to make a new start. The old man made him give him the gun. The old man went into the park, saw a prosperous-looking gentleman, jabbed the gun in his back, and said, "Stick 'em up."

CARD 10 (4 SECONDS)

The father is one of these men who works in an office, but would rather work at home. Every time he has a chance, he starts to fix things, but he usually never finishes. That Saturday—tonight is Sunday—he started to paint the roof. As the sun grew hotter and he grew more tired, he climbed off the roof and, as usual, left tools around everywhere, including the ladder leaning against the roof. Sunday they'd been away, and the daughter had a date with a young man. He got in early Sunday night. His daughter and her young man were sitting in the living room after his wife and the other child had gone to bed. He heard his daughter and her boy friend whisper sweet nothings, as young lovers do. He sneaked into the room so they wouldn't be embarrassed. He heard his daughter go up and apparently go to bed. As he started to go to bed he glanced out of the window. Seeing the ladder, he thought his daughter was eloping with the young man. So he made a desperate effort to push ladder down from his window. It was quite a reach. He didn't want anyone to hear, so he didn't yell. But he hung from mid-air from one of the rungs of the ladder. The policeman thought he was a burglar. The next day his wife came and bailed him out. He was very happy to get back to office work.

CARD 11 (9 SECONDS)

This is undoubtedly the funeral of a man who was quite popular. There is quite a crowd. Undoubtedly it is an old man with a large family. He spent his whole life making munitions. He killed off other people through intrigues, started wars, and this started to affect him. He realized this before it took hold. On realizing it, it destroyed his plan. He started to go around to make people like him for they hated him because of his business. Just when he gets back his friends and people who liked him and he changed the products he manufactured, just as he was about to enjoy his old age and his friends, when he wanted to live most, he died. The people are all going to his funeral.

CARD 12 (8 SECONDS)

This is a family picture of a young engineer (not too young), his wife, and his four children. His ambitions are very high for their children. The children are for themselves. They want their children to do great things. The father plans on having the son become an engineer. He sees he has talent and wants him to follow in his footsteps. The son looks like the father, too. Probably that is the reason he follows. There are two girls. The mother has ambition for them to marry and have their own families.

They don't understand the youngest son. He is lazy, has no ambition, dreams and looks at the sky. He likes that. He seems to disregard what everybody says, and they scold him. The children all grow up. The mother and father see the daughters marry. They see their oldest son set himself up in a good engineering business. The youngest son goes from one college to another. He doesn't seem to know what to do. But suddenly he got a spurt out of nowhere, and he starts to write. He is discouraged by his family, but he keeps on. Then came the 1929 crash. His father is alone, for the mother is dead. The girls and their husbands are penniless. The dreamer and blacksheep produces a play he had written. He turns out to be the success of the family and saves the family status.

CARD 13 (12 SECONDS)

Two youths are in a car going for a ride. They are enjoying life and want to live. They love living. They hate killing of any kind. This comes naturally with a love of life. They are driving up the street. A truck is coming, and suddenly a dog runs out. To avoid hitting the dog, the fellow smashes the car into the truck. The driver of the truck is killed. A policeman comes, and the boy is arrested for reckless driving and manslaughter. He goes to jail. There is a trial, and he is about to be sent away, but he makes an appeal. They said he should have killed the dog as it was worth less than the man. But the dog had no protection. The man in the truck was protected by the engine and cab. Finally the boy is sent to jail for a short term, as it was his first offense. When finally he is pardoned and is leaving, the warden asks if he has learned a lesson. He says, "Nothing I didn't know. I'd still swerve to avoid hitting that dog."

CARD 14 (10 SECONDS)

These people are young. I'll say they were married secretly—don't get them into trouble—they've had relations—bad—but they were madly in love with each other. The mother is against marriage and claims the girl is a tramp. When they are married, the son brings the girl home to where he lives with his mother. They have intercourse, and as they are standing there undressed, the mother comes in and accuses the girl of having lured her son on. The son claimed he has told his mother of the marriage. The girl says she is having a baby by the son. The mother is so overjoyed at having a grandchild and that they haven't done anything illegally that she excuses them. She is sorry for her accusation, and they all live happily. The marriage is published—End.

CARD 14 (1 SECOND)

These young people had illegal relations. As they are standing there embracing, the young man sees behind the girl his dead mother's spirit. She tells him he's done wrong even if the girl loved him. But if she wasn't criminally inclined, she wouldn't permit this. The boy realizes this. He hates the girl for luring him on. He breaks away. The girl has a baby and accuses him, though he knows many others have slept with her. Rather than marry her, he commits suicide. There is one moment's pleasure, but in the end a tragedy.

CARD 15 (8 SECONDS)

The boy looks like a roughneck. He is young and looking for adventure. He acts wise to the whole world. His environment is not the best thing for his character. He gets mixed in with crooks, and they start training him. An old hand at crookery gives him advice on the best way to do things; to steal. He plans for the boy to help in pulling jobs. First the boy is to be a lookout. They finish the job with a good haul and congratulate the boy. The next job they let him come inside and teach him how to do it. On another job they let him do it alone. Then they go to the hideout after each job. The boy sees them attacked one night by the police. During the raid he sees the true character of the men—how they sacrifice each other for themselves. They make one man run out. They are all for themselves. He tries to break away. They won't let him, as he is involved too deeply. He doesn't know what to do. He wants to tell the police, but he has learned the code of the criminal never to squeal. Finally he decides it would be right, for they are doing wrong and hurting men. He tells, and the men are captured. He is acquitted for turning state's evidence. He thinks now that he can go straight. But it's not that way. People won't hire him. They thought he was criminally inclined. He tries to get back to the mob, but they don't want him. They didn't want a squealer. Besides, his life is in danger. He goes on, an outcast. He is most likely an outcast even after he dies. He has done wrong, has repented, and now will probably have to spend the rest of his time in Erebus between Heaven and Hell.

CARD 16 (12 SECONDS)

These two youths have been friends all of their lives. They live on the lower East Side of New York. They've been going around together ever since they were kids. They are real bosom pals. They didn't think they'd ever be separated. Now one, dressed in a suit, has come into some money.

They both had thought they were orphans. But one found he had a mother and father. They had taken him away when he was 12. They met again on the East Side when they were 17. They shook hands and talked, but didn't warm together as before. They couldn't understand. They were the same fellows—same build—still interested in the same things—same age. They looked a lot alike and knew they did. This first brought them together. Now when they meet again one has been living in high society. He has had everything from his parents, and the other one has been living as before. Both can feel that they want to talk to one another as before, but there seems to be a veil or barrier that keeps them back. They sit and think, both wanting to say something, both embarrassed. The boy who found his parents sits straight and looks ahead. The other leans forward, weight on shoulders, and looks down at the ground. They were both equal once, but now John, who came into money, can't understand how a few dollars and a little better education could make such a difference. He had fought, laughed, cried with this fellow. How could they be so far apart after a few years' separation? He didn't understand it. He goes back to the old block where they played as kids. He feels out of place. He tells this to the other fellow, who says, "I can't see any difference. I'm at home here, maybe because I never left it." John says, "It puzzles me. I don't know why there should be a change." He says to the other fellow, "Come to my place and see how it affects you." They go. A butler answers the door. John's mother is entertaining. It is Park Avenue. Some of his friends from military school are there. He talks to them and kids around. He sees his friend, who he always enjoyed most, sitting in a corner like he sat in a corner on the East Side. His friend asks to leave as he must go home. John walks him to the door, watches him go out the gate and along the sidewalk. He watches him pass a picket fence. Suddenly the picket fence turns to a line of \$ signs. It's really money that has separated them into different classes.

CARD 17 (12 SECONDS)

The son is going away on a trip, and, as usual, his mother stands there giving advice before he leaves. The boy puts his hands behind his back, relaxes on his heels and listens, very bored. He has heard these stories a million times and still must listen out of respect for his mother. Then he goes away after hearing her advice, not making much of it, for he's heard it so many times. He's going to the mountains for a good time with three fellows. He has saved his money. The first night all was fine. It was a swanky hotel. They went for a good time,—ate a fine meal, and all went fine. His table manners seemed to be all right. He thought of his mother's

advice, and he seemed O.K. But he didn't need that, for he was grown up. While up there he met a girl, pretty and attractive, and got into a little trouble with her. It was nothing serious, just enough to raise gossip at camp—hotel. He figured he wasn't such a man after all and couldn't get on and noticed that the first thing he thought of when in trouble was his mother. What would she think or advise in the situation? Finally he came out of the trouble all right, but he learned a lesson. No matter how many times your mother tells you, advises you, she's had more experience. No matter how boring, it is good to hear advice once in a while. This is the same with many people. The minute someone is in trouble or frightened, they have a tendency to yell "Mom," or "Mother." As they run to their mother in times of danger or seeming danger, why shouldn't they listen to her advice when things are all right?

CARD 18 (4 SECONDS)

Here we have a country lad coming to the great, cruel, cold city. He has heard all about it from the people at home. It is great and cold. That doesn't bother him. He is a dreamer. He sees the city has a heart and that the blood that feeds into that heart is love. Each building seems warm, not cold brick as was described in his home town. He is an idealist, and he has made up his mind that while he is in the city he'll live by the proposition that the heart of the city is pumped by the blood of love. He gets himself an inexpensive room in an inexpensive part of town and proceeds to look for a job. He looks for days and days and finds nothing. He goes back to the hotel every night and begins to think that the city is cold. He strikes this thought from his mind and says that the city must be warm, for it pumps love. He meets a girl the next day—cross out— He decides to do some writing. But he has no job. He thought a job would keep him 'til he sold something. He wrote poems, short stories, and novels for a period of years. He did odd jobs—just enough to keep alive. Every poem and play was about the great city. Every theme was the warm heart of the city that pumped the blood of love. When he finished a play, he thought no one could reject it, for it was his best. He realized he had no money, but it was his last hope to keep alive. He went from office to office, and no one ever saw the play. He couldn't get by the first desk. He went home, weak from hunger, and dropped to the bed. He wrote a letter to his people back home, still telling them that the city had a warm heart, but a cold, hard outer surface that must be penetrated before you can really love the city or have the city love you. Then next morning he was found dead. A few years later they uncovered his plays. They were produced, and the city loved them. He had penetrated the outside covering of the heart of the city. He

had reached the heart, but too late for him to reach that. But he always knew while he was alive that the heart was warm, but never realized that it was he that was part of that heart (in other words, searching for self, I guess).

CARD 19 (15 SECONDS)

The fellow with the cigarette has criminal lines on his face—flat nose, pushed in, hard lines, with a cigarette dangling. He looks like he's been beaten by the world. He might have been good, but he resented people. He has probably been in jail—perhaps the reason for his resentment of people. He might have gone in unjustly. He doesn't trust anyone. That's why his eyes slide back and forth under half-open eyelids. He is home talking with his mother and younger brother. His younger brother is very innocent. He has a child's idealistic point of view on life, while his brother has a cold, realistic point of view. The boys are talking to their mother. It is her birthday, and each has brought her a gift. Both have been out in the world for quite awhile. Now both are back. One is bad; the other is still a youth. It is his first year in business. The older fellow, the bad fellow, bought her a great gift—new dress, diamond bracelet, ring—lots of things he had gotten, he never said how. The other son brought just a bouquet of flowers. They were all he could afford. The mother made an equal fuss over the brothers. She thanked them both the same. They had a party that night, and all the people from the town came. They all knew the two boys and the difference in their reputations. Now the older fellow felt out of place, as the younger one had felt out of place when he brought only flowers. Again the mother saved the day when she brought out the gifts of the older brother. They all stood aghast and admired the older one and talked with him for his thoughtfulness of his mother. The mother, no matter what her sons turn out to be, good or bad, hardly ever shows partiality toward either, and her love for either never fails.

CARD 20 (3 SECONDS)

Here we have an old miser—not an old one. See how he handles the money and glares at the boy. The boy has probably done a job for him, some deed, and the man is paying him off; but the man is skeptical as to whether to pay and how much. The boy is kind of innocent and trusts the man. He is young and hasn't learned to be skeptical of people. He trusts everyone. He had known the man before and he always seemed nice—never mean—just average. But the boy was astonished to see how cruel money could make him and how he could treat him so mean just for a few dollars.

CARD 21 (7 SECONDS)

The tall boy is a bully and is taking advantage of the small boy. The tall boy is kind of—doesn't like small fellow, for he himself is all brawn. He is inclined to—doesn't like small fellows for they seem to show him up, for he's not a quick thinker. The small fellow is just the opposite. He is not strong—fragile—but he has a quick wit. They meet this day, and the small boy embarrasses the big fellow with his quick wit, and the big fellow begins to beat him. They're rolling on the ground, with the big fellow socking him. There is something falling. The little fellow sees it. With quick wit he runs into the big fellow and pushes him aside. Then the two boys become friends, and they go through life together. Together they are a perfect combination. Nothing can stop them. They realize that, and that's why they stay together. Alone, neither can amount to much, for both have something missing, and they seem to dovetail together.

CARD 22 (8 SECONDS)

Here's a man started in life who is sitting in a chair in a dingy room. He doesn't seem to have any foresight or any hope for the future. He decided to make his way in the world. Something came over him. He was going to succeed, he said. He didn't care about anyone or anything but to succeed. He was going to forget people altogether and think only of himself. So he got a job and earned some money. He fed his first two hungers for clothes and food. Then he had a few coins left in his pocket. He liked to jingle these. Time went on. His love for the jingle grew louder, and the jingle grew louder because he saved more. The louder the jingle became, the hungrier he became for the jingle. Finally he found that the jingle didn't mean anything—it grew monotonous. He had built his love for the jingle to a great pitch; it became his one love almost. Then he discovered that the jingle was a cold thing—not human. He tried to throw it from himself. He found that it wasn't an easy job. People had come to know him and associated him with the jingle. He had stubbornly made up his mind that he wanted companions, friends, and to get rid of the jingle. He found it hard to make friends because of the money he had, because of the jingle. So he tried to get rid of the money and began giving it away. He talked to people everywhere. People who had known him before listened with bowed heads, meekly. They were scared of him. Then someone spoke to him first and he knew now that he had a friend. He moved back to the old neighborhood. He wanted friends, to live, more than anything else. But he was old and on a warm calm summer's day when everyone

was whistling and singing outside (I wrote a theme for English with this ending) he died with his soul that was hungry to live.

CARD 23 (12 SECONDS)

This man works for a rich farmer. He has been working for him for years. He has been underpaid, beaten, treated mean, but for some reason he never has left the place. The reason is that when he was a little boy he was first brought to this place by his father. He has grown up with the present farmer, his boss now, and the present farmer's sister. As he grew up he grew to love the farmer's sister, and the farmer hates him because of all the attention given him. He is strong and handsome. The farmer hates him because he himself is frail and jealous of the other man's strength. He lived under these cruel conditions, beaten, all because of his love for the sister. Finally the farmer, who had great influence over his sister, was forcing her to marry some man to get his money. This was the day of the wedding. He had just heard that the farmer's sister was found dead in her room. She had killed herself to avoid marriage. The man realized that now he had no reason to stay and that at last he could have revenge without hurting the one he loved. He went into the house and killed the farmer he had grown up with—choked him to death with the powerful muscles of his hands—muscles that the farmer had forced him to build. He did not try to escape from the police after they found that he had murdered the farmer. He confessed to the crime and was hung on a tree right in front of the great house he should have owned. He was buried alongside of the farmer. The farmer's grave separated his and the girl's. They were separated in death even as in life.

CARD 24 (9 SECONDS)

This young fellow goes to high school. He likes school for the most part. He figures he can get through without sitting up nights studying. He really never strained himself in school, so he got by with a medium average. He could have done better if he had tried. His attendance was quite regular except during the summer or when he walked to school. Then he felt the warm sun on his back, the cool breeze on his face, and he couldn't stand the thought of being closed up in a hot room all day, listening to the silly chatter or hearing the teacher repeat what he already knew. So he'd wander off to a field or a park or climb a high hill. He would get as near to the sky as he could, lie down, and then look up and all around the whole world and the whole universe. He found that from this quiet perch he could see all the complications of the world and all men as simple little things. Nothing was difficult from there. He could look right up at the

heavens and see God and everyone in Heaven. Then he could look around the earth. First he looked at the trees and the things that nature had created, that God gave nature the power to create. Then he'd look at the cities in the distance and see the great powers God had given man to create. Then he could feel the wind flow by in a sudden gust and see the limb of a tree fall and he realized that nature could destroy its creations. Then he thought the same thing of man—how they had destroyed each other and their creations in war. He saw that from this high perch he could look into men's souls, and he could understand all he met and everyone around him. The most important thing he discovered on that high perch was that he could understand himself best while he was up there. When he came home that night he found his parents had discovered he had played hookey. They scolded him for not going to school. Then they asked him what he'd done all day. This is where he made his first mistake of the day for he said he hadn't done anything.

CARD 25 (21 SECONDS)

A young man is coming home from college on a surprise visit. He has been away for three years and has had to work his way through. During the three years he has had only one chance to come home. This was his last year in college and he is due to graduate in a few months. He has worked very hard and saved a few extra dollars. He wants to take his mother back to see him graduate. It would be pretty lonely graduating and not having anyone close around. You have to share happiness as you share sorrow. He comes home just before exams. It is a surprise visit. Downstairs is the same old place. Everything is familiar. He knocks at the door. He doesn't know if he should jump in and yell "Surprise!" or just walk in. He knocks but there is no answer. He tries the door, finds it open and walks in. He sees no one there. He opens closet, but there are no clothes there. The furniture is still there, but no one else. He goes upstairs. He inquires of the landlord as to the whereabouts of his mother. The landlord is amazed to see him. He says the boy's mother has gone to college to surprise him for graduation. The boy takes his return ticket and starts back. Meanwhile at school his mother encounters the same situation. She, too, starts back. Both are riding on the same railroad, but never really meet. The trains did meet, but never got a chance to meet again. The trains crashed on the way back and both were killed in looking for each other. (Where did that come from on a nice day like this?)

CARD 26 (4 SECONDS)

The man is just newly married. He gets mixed up in a scandal and embezzlement plot. He is accused falsely of stealing the company's money.

He is tried for murder—I mean the crime—and is found guilty even though he isn't. He is sent away to jail. The man had grown up with his wife since childhood. They had always been friends. He always looked on himself as her caretaker and didn't think she could live without him. When he goes to jail he writes to her often, giving her advice. She writes numerous letters to him at first. As time goes on her letters get fewer and fewer, and finally he doesn't get any letters. Then he realizes that he needed her as much as she needed him or maybe more. He realizes that happiness is built on dependence on each other. He writes more letters to her, trying to make up. He realizes that he has been cruel. She answers at first, but soon there are no more answers. After eight years in jail, he is paroled. He leaves the jail and decides to go home and surprise his wife. He goes to the old address, but he finds that she has moved. He traces her to a big hotel, goes upstairs, and knocks at the door. There is a soft "Come in," and he walks into a dimly lit room. There he sees his wife and his life-long friend in the arms of another man. He doesn't say a word, but he realizes that he and she have both been wrong in situations, for he had tried to be too dominant and she wasn't true to him. He just said goodbye, turned about, and left.

CARD 27 (8 SECONDS)

This fellow is a great admirer of his father. It seems that his father isn't a man to be admired, for he is a gangster and a killer. The boy admired his father as much as any other boy admires his father. But his father died as he lived—by the gun (by the sword), and the boy and his mother are trying to start anew. His mother tried to get him away from memories of his father. Wherever the boy went, people talked about him—looked at him. The boy realized this and tried his best to be well-mannered. He was even overpolite at times, but he couldn't cope with it longer. He was driven to this. He decided that all the education in the world wouldn't do him any good with the mistakes of his father falling on his head, so he got himself a gun and went out. He had come to believe that this was all he could do, that some people had talked him into this. He took the gun and went to the house of these people over in the small town that had made him hard. He decided to throw a good scare into them, which he did. They were crowded into one big room. He told them point blank that they were the type who should be put in jail for the many crimes and killings that go on in the world. Then he left, hoping they'd leave him alone now. He went home and thought now that he could really live like a man. Before he could go to sleep he heard a rapping on the door. He asked, "Who's there?" A voice came back, "Police." Then he heard

the voices of the town gossips he had spoken to. He didn't bother to hear more. He grabbed his gun and jumped out of the back window.

CARD 28 (8 SECONDS)

This girl goes to high school in the West. Right now things are bad for her folks. There has been a dust storm and crops are bad. The girl would like to help if she could. She is a very beautiful girl with much talent in school plays, etc. She is offered a job dancing in New York. She figured she could use the money to save the old homestead. Her folks are descended from Puritans in Massachusetts and are against this. They wouldn't think of their daughter doing such a thing. She got a beating for just suggesting it. Finally things get so bad that she decides to run away on her own. She goes to New York and gets the job she was offered. She sends them money ever so often, but each time the money is mailed back. She finally marries the producer of the show, a young fellow about her own age. For the honeymoon, she wants to go see her folks. She goes home and finds that her mother is dead and her father is half dead. The farm is nearly all dust, and the house is falling apart. At first her father won't talk to her. Then she introduces her husband. Her father realizes that her husband is the son of a Puritan minister who was once his friend. He takes his girl into his arms and points to her mother's grave, to the seedy fields, and to the house falling apart and tells her how narrow minded he has been. Just then the minister's son, her husband, softly whispers, "A child shall lead them."

CARD 29 (4 SECONDS)

This girl has young, modern ideas, but her mother objects to them. She tells the girl that they are wrong, at least partially. The girl won't listen. She puts on makeup heavily, wears risqué dresses, stays out late, and disregards her mother's guidance. Finally she gets into a lot of trouble with a young fellow. This is hushed up. Years later she is still not married. She still runs around with all that makeup. She realizes that she hasn't any more friends for all of them are married to friends she had once known. All of them have homes and are happy except this girl, who was once considered the prettiest of them all. She realizes that she was going with men who couldn't be considered right, because they were low. One night she contracted syphilis and it spread and now it seemed to be attacking her brain. She realizes that she doesn't have long to live. She is in the hospital, and one of her friends comes to see her. She asks this friend to do her one favor. Her friend says yes, she'll do anything. The girl says, "I want to be buried in a pure white dress without any makeup and with

my hair combed straight over my shoulders, for I at least want to die as I had wanted to, but didn't, live."

CARD 30 (12 SECONDS)

This girl has been careless ever since she was young. It was not her fault—but was probably the result of bad guidance and environment. Later on she changed her ways. She got interested in boys, as all girls do, and she became very attractive. She had many suitors. They all offered her something—love, happiness—but none offered her a lot of money; and that interested her most. She wanted to live a careless life, as she had as a child. She let one man after another go by. She let fellows go whom she really loved. They didn't have enough money, so she threw them over. She really loved one of them. But she let these fellows go by, and as the years went by, she started getting older and her beauty faded. Always she sat waiting for a man with money. She didn't care about love to satisfy her. The clock in the background symbolizes time going by, getting older. She finally gets very old, lives in poverty, and never gets married. She dies in poverty, but she never attained the money, for she wanted it this evil way. If she acquired money through marriage, she'd be breaking a sacred trust and ruining her own life and that of the man she married.

CARD 31 (7 SECONDS)

This is a well-to-do man, who has a great home and many servants. He lives there with his wife and son. His wife is the type of woman who has helped her husband to build a great fancy estate with trimmings and ornaments but never knew how to make a home a home. She couldn't put life into anything. They all sat in certain chairs, ate in a certain room, and had set places. The man's son came home from college. He had been away most of his life to private schools and colleges. He fell in love with one of the maids in the house. The father naturally interviewed the maid and spoke to his son. He told his father first, but didn't tell his mother. His father then told him to go ahead with the marriage, as he was sure they both loved each other. She was not out for money. The father broke the news to the boy's mother, who grew violent, raging mad, yelling that her social standard would be shot—gone. They'd be banished and wouldn't be able to go out on the streets. The father tried to reason with her, to make her see that it was for love they were getting married, but the mother said, "There's more than love to marriage. There's background, family." While arguing, the son comes in with the servant girl. He thought that everything was O.K. but he overhears what his mother says about "background." He goes into a rage, telling his mother that the best part of a

family tree lies usually in its roots. They have a house full of guests. He announces his engagement to the guests. They follow him into the room where his mother is. His mother is shocked. The son starts uncovering all the details about the ancestors—this one a drunk, that one something else. His mother thought she'd never be able to live it down. She might as well commit suicide. The son got married and moved into a big house, too. His mother felt she couldn't order the servant around. Guests like to come better than ever, for the girl let them sit where they liked and be comfortable. The mother discovered that it takes more than four walls and furniture to make a home.

CARD 32 (6 SECONDS)

The girl is a typical servant girl. I think people are born into certain things. It's true that they may not land in things. Environment and training may change them, but they are still a certain type. No matter what work they do or what career they follow, they'll always look like that. They can't get away from it. This typical servant girl is thin of body and not very alluring. Her face doesn't show much intelligence, but her eyes are curious for gossip more than anything else. Her mouth always looks astonished—wide open—as are her eyes. Her hair is usually crudely fixed, and she is not very neat. She does not have a high intelligence and not much schooling, which accounts for it too. She was probably brought up in a big family and loved those around her—brothers, sister, mother. She had to quit school early to help support her family. She got a job as a servant, a job she could naturally fulfill best, having had experience cleaning her own house and caring for her brothers and sisters. She takes very good care of homes and becomes very concerned about people. She is inclined to be very sentimental; and when someone at the place where she works gets sick, marries, or has a birthday, she is happy or sad according to the occasion and expresses emotion freely. She'll probably spend most of her life at this job. Maybe she'll get married. If she does, she'll probably run a boarding house or raise a big family. But she'll be very weak as a mother and a wife, because she gives way to her emotions easily and is easily persuaded.

CARD 33 (6 SECONDS)

The blonde girl went out with fellows and girls to a party. At the party she found that it wasn't exactly right to do what she saw the other girls doing, especially one very dark Spanish-looking girl with lots of makeup who looked very dangerous. But after a little persuading, she fell in with the group, and she too got mixed up in heavy necking. After a few months,

she discovered she was going to have a baby. She didn't know what to do, so she ran to the other dark girl. The dark-haired girl was extremely surprised, in fact, shocked. The blonde asked if she should tell her parents. The other one said yes. She said, "I'll go home and tell them with you." So she told the parents about their daughter's condition, and the parents started to scold the daughter. Once more the black-haired girl jumped in and saved the day. She scolded the parents and said they were wrong. They had kept their daughter cooped up. Although they thought she, the black-haired girl, was bad, she had learned just how far to go. These parents had let an innocent girl go out into the world with no means of protection.

CARD 34 (6 SECONDS)

A foolish young girl goes to high school. I call her foolish, because she has taken exams just that day, ones she has really studied and crammed for, and now she has come home and is very nervous and upset. Most likely she won't sleep, worrying about how she made out. She probably won't go out for a couple of nights 'til she gets the results. That is very foolish, for a deed is done and she can't contest the consequences any more.

CARD 35 (5 SECONDS)

The man was married when he was very young, and he has a few more years to go to medical school. He quit school, and his mother objected very much. His mother and father called the wife all sorts of things for taking him from his work. They preyed on her mind for quite awhile, writing her letters, saying she had spoiled his career. Thinking she was doing right, she left him, never telling him that she was going to have a baby. He tried to reach her for years, but she hid herself well, and he could never find her. So he turned back to his studies, despising his family, for he knew what they had done. To forget his misery, study was his best relief. He graduated and became a great specialist. But thoughts of his wife always tortured him. As he became older, memories of the past came up. He made another great effort to find his wife. He left all he had worked so hard for to look for his wife. He realized that his family and his money were no good without love. The thing he didn't realize was that through his fame and money he might be able to find his wife, rather than through poverty. He had his own thoughts about his wife. He knew she was a noble woman, and he thought she wouldn't come back to him while he had so much money. He became a traveling doctor. He bought a trailer. One night he was speeding along the highway. He had just

heard a woman answering his wife's description and life was living in the next town. He speeded there to see her with his medical kit in the car. On the way the car skidded, and he hit another car with a woman and a girl in it. The woman died, and the doctor discovered that it was his wife he had killed. He took the girl home and performed a miracle operation. Some steel from the car had gone through her lungs and heart, and he sewed them up. As he stood over her, he first realized that the woman he had killed was his wife, and he saw her resemblance in the young girl. Now he had found them both—too late. Though he had found and saved his daughter, he had killed his real love, his wife.

CARD 36 (12 SECONDS)

The girl has been out on a party and is sneaking home late at night. As she walks past the mirror to go to her room, she sees a slight reflection of herself, and she runs toward the mirror. She hits her head on the wall just before she reaches it and is knocked out. When she comes to, she sees her father standing there and her mother, and she tells them that she saw a burglar and he hit her on the head. They call the police and everyone in town is out to look for the burglar. Finally they accuse a young fellow who is living a life of ease—a hobo—and the hobo denies it, for he didn't do it. The girl falls in love with the hobo and tries to defend him. Then she realizes that she did run into a mirror and that knocked her out. She tries to explain that in court. They claim she's in love with the fellow and just trying to defend him. He's made to serve his thirty days just for looking suspicious. They couldn't convict him of anything else. She visits him every day. He falls in love with her and they marry and live happily ever after.

CARD 37 (8 SECONDS)

The girl is timid. She was born scared and probably will be scared for the rest of her life. She hears her mother tell her that her cousin Frances is coming to the house. She sits around and worries about it, but finally she decides she'll have to fix a room for Frances. So she puts in all kinds of toilet articles—combs, etc. She makes the room very dainty and then goes to the station to meet her cousin Frances. The train pulls in. She looks high and low for Frances, but can't find her. Finally a lone fellow is standing on the platform. He goes up to her, mentions her name, and asks if she's his cousin. She says yes. He says, "I'm Francis." She passes out. (That's from an old story I wrote.)

CARD 38 (6 SECONDS)

This girl has lived alone all her life, as her father and mother are dead. She was very young. As far as she knew, she only had one sister, but they had been separated. Her sister went to live with one aunt, and she lived with another. When she came of age, she decided to look for her sister. She looked everywhere, trying to trace her the best that she could. She finally decided to give up and settled down and married. She lived with her husband for quite a few years, and they were very happy together, but soon she discovers that he is going out with another woman. She talks to him about this. He gets very angry and stamps out of the house and doesn't return at all that night. Next morning she gets a phone call saying that her husband was found dead in a certain woman's apartment. She goes there and sees the woman being taken away. She wonders who she could be and how she got mixed up in her life. She hates the woman and is sure she is a murderess. The woman is tried and acquitted, but evidence is uncovered in the past life of the two girls to show that they are sisters. Now the one doesn't know whether to be overjoyed or sorry. She had been so angry when the woman was acquitted that she threatened her life. Three months later the other woman was found dead. She had committed suicide. Because the married woman had threatened her publicly, all suspected her. Suspicion grew so that she was finally accused of murder and electrocuted.

Gruesome—I killed all but the author.

CARD 39 (8 SECONDS)

The girl goes to the high school prom. It is the first time she has ever been let out of the house so late. Her father is inclined to be old-fashioned and therefore very strict. She comes home quite late. She, as everyone else, has had the time of her life. She felt that she would never again be so happy as she was that night. Maybe she would, maybe she wouldn't—she didn't know. If she ever got the chance she'd do it again. Everything was fine—it was quite late, so she said goodnight and started creeping upstairs quietly. Suddenly she saw a shadow which looked like her father. She thought, "Here's where I get it. The whole evening is shot. He'll never let me go out or do anything." She braced herself and walked up the stairs. To her amazement there was no one there. Being very puzzled, she went to sleep. She thought she would wait until morning to figure it out. At breakfast that morning she was surprised to find her father almost as happy as she that she had gone out and had a good time. He didn't scold her at all for coming home late. Then she asked about the shadow

in the hall. He, with her mother to verify it, said he hadn't left his room all night. This made her quite happy. She still couldn't understand the shadow she saw.

CARD 40 (6 SECONDS)

The girl is young, probably just out of school, or maybe she never went to school. She lives in the city. She feels terribly cramped and is tired of the noises of cars, factories, etc., blinding electric lights, and the smell of smoke. She would love to move to the country. She can see herself running in the fields with the sun in her face, having nothing to worry about. She can smell the grass, feel the quiet, soft breezes, and see the deep blue sky. She figures: "That's my greatest ambition—to live on a farm." She gets the opportunity to go away to a farm. She is away for six months and has a wonderful time. She falls in love with a farmer and they get married. The marriage is not very successful, however, for it seems that the farmer loves to live in the city. She didn't know what to do. For the first year they traveled back and forth. It seems that her husband got car sick from traveling. They took the train but he got sick on the train. She still didn't know what to do. Finally they decided that the girl would live in the country, the farmer in the city, and they'd meet ever so often. This was fine for awhile, and then the farmer realized that he, too, had a yearning to go back to the farm, for he was tired of the city. This made him terribly happy. He thought he would now be with his wife again. He quickly sent her a telegram telling her of the sudden change. No sooner had he sent the wire, when he received one from her saying that she was moving back to the city. Now he's in the country again and she is in the city. Both are happy. Both are along into middle age, and neither has seen the other one for the last twenty years.

CARD 41 (6 SECONDS)

There is a Cinderella situation here. One girl is the mother's favorite. The other one is neglected. They grow up like that, one disliking the other. One of them marries the handsomest fellow in town; the other one just gets a local boy, no one important. The marriage finally ends in a terrible tragedy. The favorite is killed by the neglected girl because of jealousy. Naturally, the husband of the favorite seeks revenge, and he goes to the house where the other girl lives and makes an attempt to murder her. He is killed by this girl's husband, and the other two are accused of murder. They're executed. The mother realizes that her favoritism caused sorrow to about twelve different people, the families of the dead.

CARD 42 (10 SECONDS)

The girl lives in the country on a farm. She has never had much contact with people except her own family. As she becomes old enough, her mother decides to send her to a finishing school. She is sent away from home. It is her first time away. The girls at school all call her "The Angel" because she is so naïve. She is very unsophisticated. At first this bothers the girl, but later she learns to laugh with them. She realizes that she wasn't so worldly wise. The girls would go out, stay out late, come back after curfew and they'd tell her shocking stories. She blushed easily, and they all laughed at her. Finally one night there was a great party at the school. The girls almost forced her to go. At the party she didn't know how to act, so she decided to watch the other girls and do what they did. The party was quite wild, and she must have watched the wrong girls, because a few months after the party and just before graduation she found she was going to become a mother. News travels fast, and the whole school knew it in a short time. Everyone talked about her. She was to be valedictorian, and she brought such shame to them. She finally had to leave school. Her mother and father expected her to return. They sent her the carfare, but she didn't go home. All she did was to write a note saying that they had done enough harm by keeping her cooped up and away from the world. Now she was learning the hard way and was determined to finish that way.

Question: What hard way? Answer: She started on the wrong foot. Society should be against the father and mother. She goes away. Pride makes her see it not as her fault. She doesn't change her name. She tries to make her own way, earns her own living, supports the child. She doesn't return to her father and mother because of the child. She wants the child to have worldly knowledge.

The Associations to These Stories

CARD 1

I've been thinking. I met a girl in Stanbury and took her to a prom. I wrote her a letter and got one answer. Then I wrote again. I didn't get an answer, but I'm expecting one.

CARD 2

I see my mother sitting knitting. She is making a hooked rug. She is very handy. She takes pride in her home, but she doesn't treat it like a doll house. She really makes it a home.

CARD 3

I thought of a friend in school. I don't like to say it but—well, he makes higher marks than I do. It may sound like jealousy—but he doesn't get them honestly. It makes me hate the marking system. For instance, in some tests he cheats. He is a backslapper, and he gets help from other students. For instance, one teacher had his brother in class. The brother was popular. The teacher called him by his brother's name. He got better marks than he should. They were higher than mine. I don't like to boast, but my stuff is better.

CARD 4

I see houses here as I pass by. They are rooming houses. There are vacancies. I thought of New York right away. I even thought of O'Henry whose stories relate to New York boarding houses.

CARD 5

The girl I was going with and I always had fun together. She is intelligent. One night she was at a dance with another fellow. I was with a friend of my sister's. She was silly. I met the other girl at a table. I could see that the first girl was laughing at my girl. It struck me funny, for we were both out with people we didn't like.

CARD 6

Teddy (a friend) and I have doped out a plot for a class play. This sounds like that plot. A fellow has to take a home-town girl out. There are complications, but the fellows shanghaied him into going. He stole the other fellow's girl.

CARD 7

This is mother again. She is talking over the back fence to a neighbor. They tell each other everything. It is sometimes embarrassing. She tells her my habits as a child. They know each other's family secrets intimately, even though they have known each other only a year. They are just talking over the back fence.

CARD 8

This reminds me of my two cousins. One was married two years ago. At the wedding dinner there were speeches, and everyone talked about the future. One of them married another fellow. He died a couple of months ago.

CARD 9

This is like a character I've always had in mind. When we're making fun, I think of Uncle Louie. I haven't got a real Uncle Louie. He is imaginary—like Yehudi. He is a philosopher and makes life worth while for people. He talks to people. I've written a poem about him—"A friend in need"—a Joyce Kilmer poem.

CARD 10

With regard to the beginning of the story, my father studied accounting. From what I have heard, he was good, but I know he doesn't like his present job. (He quit to get married.) My mother was making lots of money. She worked in New York. It bothered him, so he got an outside job. In four or five months he became the manager of a store. He was young then, and he did a foolish thing—borrowed money from the relatives and opened his own store. He tried to pay it off in a year and lost the store. This made him very cautious. As a result, I hate one side of my family. He now works for a school friend. People ask my father how he can stand this employer who is nervous and irritable while my father is moderate and calm. He is bad about not finishing things. He does that at home—starts things and doesn't finish them.

CARD 11

This reminds me of another story I wrote. It is tied up with father's boss. He is a lonely fellow, and I think he is wasting his life. He keeps my father at the store a lot at night. He said himself that the store is his only family. My mother told him (kidding) to get married.

CARD 12

Reminds me that one side of my family is always telling me to take up things that are more practical in school. One side of the family measures success in money. I can't see it. Success is measured by happiness. That's my father's philosophy, too. He never hounds me. I don't know if I will find it better to be practical, but I'll make a stab at writing.

CARD 13

I have a dog I love very much. Once when a bunch of us were going to a dance we passed an open coupe which was smashed into a tree. We had been laughing and happy but it made us very quiet and we slowed down.

CARD 14

First. My uncle married out of his religion. I approved of it but my cousin and grandmother disapproved. They married secretly and then they had a religious wedding. Then they had a son. He is a perfect kid. The grandfather fell in love with the kid so now the mother is accepted. She is a swell girl.

Second. I don't know—maybe something I read or maybe it happened to a girl here in town. She is young and never did anything wrong. She has no willpower, but she has done nothing drastic. I can't stand her. I don't like to talk to her.

CARD 15

I got this idea from a couple of sources—movies and a story I read—a true story—about a crime school. Erebus? I read the word in Shakespeare. I liked it and wrote a poem about it.

CARD 16

This reminds me of the movies, then of the lives of Al Smith, Eddie Cantor, and Al Jolson.

CARD 17

My mother always talked like this. I always know exactly what she'll say. Yet if she didn't say it, I'd miss it. Last year I saved quite a bit and splurged for a week. My father kept telling me to consider it before doing it. I think it was all right. I can look back on it.

With regard to mother, my mother was scared in the cellar. She yelled "Mom" automatically and then yelled for me. Mother is closest to you.

CARD 18

When I was a kid I read a farce about a young fellow going to the city. It was all about the "cruel" city, his being beaten, cops, etc. I often thought New York City was not really cruel. It either makes you a hero or ignores you.

CARD 19

This reminds me of a couple of things. The first part is like a friend of mine. He has a tough face but he is really gentle, almost timid. The last part reminds me that on Mother's Day one of my uncles bought his mother a small gift. Father bought her a pocketbook. A rich uncle sent quite a few gifts. My grandmother showed no partiality.

CARD 20

This is an exact description of my father's boss. I've been working for him. He is not cruel, but he stares at you and he doesn't seem sincere.

CARD 21

I had a friend and we didn't get along very well together. He was a bully. One day I was shoveling snow. He threw snowballs at me so I ran out and dropped snow on his head. He never bothered me any more. He and I were both surprised. I shocked my father because I don't usually get excited.

CARD 22

This reminds me of father's boss and also of myself at the beginning. They criticize me about not getting any place without money. It also reminds me of Scrooge. A love of money comes from not liking life and people.

CARD 23

The beginning is taken almost directly from *Wuthering Heights*. The end is more my own—more tragic.

CARD 24

This reminds me of what I think of myself in spots. The first part is like my opinion of school. The second part I've done, too. I've cut school and gone to the park. I haven't cut much—three times. Once I was caught by my Mother. Mother let me go and laughed. They're very liberal.

CARD 25

This is just a picture I thought of myself away at college. I don't know where I got it.

CARD 26

I made up the ending. The beginning makes me think of a teacher of mine whose wife is from England. They met and married. She doesn't take care of the bills, etc. He takes care of all of those things. She doesn't seem to be able to care for herself. He has no confidence in her and has made her helpless. He has an annuity plan for her if he dies.

CARD 27

Town gossips think a whole family is no good when one goes wrong. Don't blame a son for a father's misdeeds. Many fellows suffer for a father's wrongs.

CARD 28

The first part about the old homestead came from a melodrama. I think some parents don't let their children help enough and don't give their children much credit. It isn't like this in my home. Children should help. My parents urge me to work. Children are a part of the home and parents should teach children that they can learn from them.

CARD 29

This reminds me of my sister and cousins. They were not really like the girl in the story. One of the girls went out a lot. Her mother told her to get serious with someone. She married. Another cousin, who was younger, never went out at all. Even now she goes out just once in a while. She is an introvert. She is unmarried and is getting old. My sister and I go out more than she does. It is a shame, for she is wasting her life. She knows the lives of every movie star and seems to be waiting for a knight on a white charger.

CARD 30, (omitted)

CARD 31

Miss ——— told us of her first marriage to a rich man. They lived in a castle on the moors in Scotland—an untouchable home. A tornado ruined everything. She prayed for four walls and a roof; then she realized that was all that was necessary for a home.

CARD 32

In my mind I've typed people. I watch their eyes and their hands. She was just one I typed. Of course the movies have an influence in my typing of people.

CARD 33

Here are my cousin and sister again. That's how I think she'd react. Being so unsophisticated isn't good for her. She fell in with the wrong group. The girl who had been out a lot was the better off of the two. She knew how to handle herself. My sister is 18.

THEME ANALYSIS OF JIMMY'S STORIES

Themes	FREQUENCY		COMPARISON WITH NORMS			
	<i>Number of Stories in Which Various Themes Occur (Total, 42 stories)</i>	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Q₁</i>	<i>Med.</i>	<i>Q₃</i>	
Family relationships		29				x
Mother	18					x
Father	13					x
Family	7					x
Parents	3			x		
Son	8					x
Husband	6					x
Children	3		x			
Home	..		x			
Wife	8					x
Sister	3					x
Daughter	4					x
Brother	3					x
Aggression		29				x
Death	10					x
Crime	..		x			
Criminal	11					x
Scolding; nagging; disapproval	10					x
Violent death	9					x
Hate	7					x
Fault; blame	9					x
Fight; argument	..		x			
Anger; madness; furiousness	4					x
Stealing; robbery	5					x
Economic concerns		13		x		
Money	10					x
Job; work	5		x			
Wealth; richness	..		x			
Poverty	4					x
Punishment		15		x		
Police	7			x		
Punishment	..		x			
Capture	..		x			
Prison	5					x
Innocence; false accusation	5					x
Arrest	4					x
Sentence	5					x
Trial	4					x
Love		20				x
Marriage	13					x
Love; falling in love	10					x
Boy-girl situations	..		x			
Friends	..		x			
Illegal relations	5					x

THEME ANALYSIS OF JIMMY'S STORIES (Continued)

Themes	FREQUENCY		COMPARISON WITH NORMS		
	<i>Number of Stories in Which Various Themes Occur</i>				
	(Total, 42 stories)	Totals	Q ₁	Med.	Q ₃
Depression; discouragement; disappointment	•	15			x
Tragedy; misfortune	11				x
Trouble	3				x
Sadness; unhappiness	3				x
Separation		17			x
City; distant places; trip	3				x
Running away	..		x		
Loneliness	..		x		
Separation	10				x
Reunion	7				x
Desertion	3				x
Altruism		4	x		
Hero	..		x		
Rescue; being saved	4				x
Anxiety		5	x		
Worry	5				x
Fear; dread; alarm	..		x		
Success; ambition		3	x		
Repentance; reform		8		x	
Reform	..		x		
Lesson learned	..		x		
Repentance; remorse	8				x
Accident; illness		3	x		
Accident	..		x		
Illness	..		x		
Crash; collision	3				x
Thinking; decision		15			x
Wondering; thinking	15				x
School		12			x
Positive emotion		9			x
Happiness	6				x
Gladness	3				x
Escape		..	x		
Socialness		6			x
Socialness	6				x
Party; dance	6				x

THEME ANALYSIS OF JIMMY'S STORIES (Continued)

Themes	FREQUENCY		COMPARISON WITH NORMS			
	<i>Number of Stories in Which Various Themes Occur</i> (Total, 42 stories)	Totals	Q_1	Med.	Q_3	
Morality; goodness	..	..	x			
Strangeness; unusualness		10				x
Surprise	10					x
Place of residence		9				x
Country; farm	4					x
neighborhood	5					x
Concealment	..	..	x			
Badness; wrong		11				x
Selfishness; heedlessness	7					x
Wrong	6					x
Appearance	..	..	x			
Guilt	..	..	x			
Yearning; wanting	..	4				x
Parental attitude		3				x
Parental advice	3					x
Age		3				x
Baby; children	3					x

CARD 34

This is again my own opinion of school and of exams. I treat them all that way, too.

CARD 35

This is a reflection of my mother and father. The family didn't reject her. On the contrary, they took her in and liked her. But my father didn't regret quitting. My mother regretted it then.

CARD 36

This was just a thought. I always try to complicate thoughts. It makes them funny.

CARD 37

This is a story I wrote. I made it up. I got the idea from a name.

CARD 38

I don't know where I got this. I just made it up as I went along. I have always thought of people being separated and finding each other. This is a reaction.

CARD 39

This was my own experience. Last year in the fraternity the fellows were always going out. Father let me go but objected to late hours and said that I didn't know when to stop. I took the hint. I once went to a wedding and stayed late, but got no reaction from father.

CARD 40

I got this from a poem, I think. I read it my junior year.

CARD 41

A mother should be impartial. Playing favorites is a bad thing for it can produce dissension in a family.

CARD 42

This again reminds me of my cousin. She lives with grandmother. I go to the movies with her once in awhile. We like each other pretty well, as cousins of course. I've brought friends to the house. My cousin doesn't seem to talk to them. I must have some of mother's instinct there. Mother is always trying to straighten them out, to see that everyone in the family gets a square deal.

I think my mother is an amazing person for she can sense how people feel, is frank and understanding. We compare notes on people all the time.

Analysis of Jimmy's Stories¹

Jimmy, being a boy who is well-adjusted in his social relationships and stable emotionally, tells his stories which represent the fantasies of such a well-adjusted boy. The Oedipus conflict stands out clearly in his stories, as well as the resolution of this conflict. While the Oedipus conflict shows itself directly through displacement and symbolism in some stories, it also stimulates other derived conflicts, particularly that between pleasure on the one hand, which represents his desire for love, and money, which represents the inhibiting and repressive features of his life. This conflict arouses in him a sense

¹ The numbers in parentheses refer to stories.

of guilt, against which he makes certain defenses. The analysis of Jimmy's stories will follow this dynamic sequence.

The Oedipus conflict is revealed in striking form in at least three stories (23, 26, 27). In one story, a young man works for a rich farmer and falls in love with the farmer's sister. The farmer resents the attachment and hates his employee. The sister kills herself to avoid marrying a man of the farmer's choice. The young man, out of revenge, kills the farmer and escapes, but later confesses and is "hung on a tree right in front of the great house he should have owned, and he was buried along side of the farmer. The farmer's grave separated him and the girl. They were separated even in death as in life" (23). In another story a boy is an admirer of his father, who is a gangster, "but his father died as he lived, by the gun (by the sword) and the boy and mother have to start anew" (27).

Jimmy's basic love of his mother is brought out clearly in a number of stories (8, 23, 27). There is admiration of the mother figure and identification with her (35). "He knew she was a noble woman." There are fantasies of living alone with the mother (27, 38). In story 38, for instance, a girl whose father is dead lives alone with her mother. This relationship is often displaced to other characters, as, for instance, the farmer's sister (23) and a sibling figure (28). In two stories (26, 28) a man becomes a caretaker of a woman. For instance, in story 26 "a man grew up with his wife since childhood. They had always been friends, and he looked on himself as her caretaker. . . . He didn't think she could live without him." To Jimmy the mother figure makes a real home (31). "Guests like to come better than ever for the girl lets them sit where they like, and they can be comfortable. The mother discovered it took more than four walls and furniture to make a home." With a somewhat clear displacement of characters a doctor, in showing his devotion, performs a miracle operation to save his daughter's life (35).

On the other hand, stories are told in which the mother cares for and provides for her son (2, 4, 9). A mother knits for her son, who is in the army (2). A landlady brings food to a tenant's room, and they all eat (4). A wife visits her husband in jail (9). In one dramatic story, a mother travels to visit her son in college (25). A girl falls in love with a hobo, tries to defend him, and later they marry (36). Notwithstanding Jimmy's assertions in real life that his mother does

not show favoritism in the family, two stories belie the assertions. A mother stands by a criminal son in the same way that she does her favorite. "The mother, no matter what her sons turn out to be, good or bad, hardly ever shows partiality toward either, and love for either never fails" (19). In another story "a mother realizes her favoritism caused sorrow to about twelve different people" (41). A mother also shows her love by her ambition for her children. In one story the parents have high ambitions for their four children (12).

Then there are stories which show the dependency of a boy on his mother. In one story a boy comes from college on a surprise visit and is in a panic because he finds his mother is not at home (25). In the story in which a man had grown up since childhood with the girl who became his wife it is stated, "He realizes that he needed her as much as she needed him or maybe more. He realizes that their happiness is based on their dependence on each other" (26).

The other half of the Oedipus—the hatred and rivalry of the father—is also clearly shown in several of the stories, some of which have already been mentioned. In some stories there is jealousy of one man for another. In one story an old man makes a young fellow give him his gun (9). Death wishes and jealousy of a young man for a rich farmer is a theme already recounted (23). Jimmy fantasies a father who is strict and punitive (23, 39). A girl who is late in returning from a high school prom dreads meeting an old-fashioned, strict father (39). In one story a young man "decides to get even with the cops for taking his father away" (8). The revenge theme is repeated in a bloody story in which the husband of one girl goes to murder her sister and is killed by the girl's husband (41).

Rivalry of one person for another is also shown on the sibling level. A girl hates a woman who seduces her husband only to find out that it was her own sister (38). In the tragic story already mentioned, the favorite daughter is killed by the neglected daughter because of jealousy (41).

These stories represent the original Oedipus drives. However, Jimmy has also made progress toward resolving these drives in a mature fashion. In the first place he has formed a wholesome identification with his father which is brought out with clarity in his stories. A father plans on having a son follow in his footsteps as an engineer, and it is stated that the son looks like the father (12). In the same

story another son is described as lazy and without ambition and a dreamer, and in his association he states, "That's my father's philosophy too" (12). In another story he tells of a father who starts various home projects which he never finishes, and Jimmy tells us he tends to procrastinate (10). In his fantasy Jimmy is an admirer of his father and states this in so many words in one of his stories, even though in this story he goes on to say that "his father isn't a man to be admired, because he is a gangster and killer, but this boy admired his father as much as any other boy admired his father." At the same time, this boy resented being like his father and tried to hide it by being well-mannered and "even overpolite at times" (27).

Themes of reconciliation occur in several stories. In one, a girl who is jealous because the fellow she is going out with finally effects a reconciliation (5), and a small boy finally makes friends with a tall bully, and "they go through life together and are a perfect combination . . . alone neither can amount to much, for both have something missing and they seem to dovetail together" (21). The father who is thought to be strict turns out to be sympathetic with the young girl who stayed out late having a good time (39). A father finally is reconciled to his son's marrying and takes the girl into his arms (28). In another story the father gives permission to his son to marry one of the maids in the house, for the father is sure that they both love each other and that the maid is not "out for his money" (31).

The erotic feelings toward the mother are also modified, as Jimmy strives to secure his independence of her (26, 42). This struggle to free himself from his affectional ties with his mother is focused on his resentment of her desire that he become practical. A young girl has modern ideas to which her mother objects (29). A beautiful girl with dramatic talent is finally forced to run away from home in order to have a career (28). One boy whose mother gives him advice, puts his hands behind his back while his mother is giving him advice and listens with a very bored expression. He must continue to listen out of respect for his mother (17). Then there is actual defiance of the mother or mother-figure. A young fellow became a robber and told his wife who was heartbroken (7). The young man who falls in love with the maid in the house is opposed by his mother, who states that there is more than love to marriage—there is background and family; the young man goes out in a rage (31). A mother is against

the marriage of two young people who are madly in love with each other (14). A young girl who had been kept innocent by her parents becomes involved in an escapade at school and finally leaves the school without returning to her parents (42). Death wishes are directed toward the mother or mother-figure. A man whose wife had left him because his parents objected to his marrying her attempts to find her. On his way his car skids, and he finds that his own wife has been killed in the car with which he has collided (35). The girl who is neglected in the family rages against her mother for her favoritism and commits murder (41).

It is not clear from the stories what attitude Jimmy takes toward his own sister. There are several stories indicating sibling rivalry, but always of one sister or another. In these stories considerable ambivalence is shown. For instance, a woman who is angry because another woman who has stolen her husband's affection finds that it is her own sister, whom she loves (38).

Hatred of his mother also takes the form of *exposing* the mother in his stories. The son who falls in love with the maid becomes angry at his mother because of her insistence on family and background and exposes his mother by pointing out the skeletons in the family closet (31).

As a result of this revolt against his mother, there are many themes of separation (23, 25, 28, 31, 40). In one story a student comes from college to see his mother, but she is not at home when he arrives (25). The husband who has gone to jail is deserted by his wife (26). There are themes of searching for a lost mother, but not being able to find her (25, 28, 40), although in two stories the search is followed by reconciliation (5, 38), there is also a desire to be searched for by the mother (9, 15). For example, the mother of the college boy who went home to visit her had gone to his college in search of him (25).

The Oedipus conflict and its attempt at resolution has lead to a number of conflicts with which Jimmy is enmeshed. It is these conflicts which keep him separated from his mother (40). The major conflict, which runs as a persistent theme throughout the stories, concerns his belief that money is less important than pleasure and love (6, 16, 19). This is shown in many ways.

In his opinion money makes a person selfish (22) and cruel (20).

Money separates persons into classes. Two boys who have been playmates since they were very young were estranged when one of them became wealthy (16). An old man attempts to win back friends who have learned to hate him because of his profitable munitions business (11). Money is shown as an obstacle to marriage. A girl who wanted money instead of love finally dies in poverty without marrying. "If she acquired money through marriage, she would be breaking a sacred trust which would ruin her and the life of the man she married" (30). The successful doctor whose wife deserted him realizes that his money is of no value to him without her love (35). Jimmy revolts against the idea of success and making money which is held up to him by his mother (31).

This conflict becomes generalized and shows itself in several ways. For instance, there is the typical adolescent conflict between the good and the bad. The old fellow in jail advises the young criminal to reform, but he himself goes back to his robbing (9). The girl with modern ideas gets into trouble, but having contracted syphilis, she states on her death bed, "I want to be buried in a pure white dress without any makeup and with my hair combed straight over my shoulders" (29). There is a conflict between pleasures and social standards and between pleasure and success in school. A boy plays hookey from school in order to be in the country where he can appreciate the wonders of nature (24). A girl is called foolish who crams for an examination (34). There is conflict between living in the city, with its responsibilities, and living in the country, where there is freedom from worry (40). There is conflict between listening to the parent's advice and getting into trouble (17). There is conflict between staying at home and helping one's parents and leaving home in order to have a career (28). There is conflict between working in the office where the going is smooth and staying at home where everything seems to go wrong (10). Finally, there is conflict between independence and dependence on the mother. The boy who was not willing to listen to his mother's advice and got into trouble noticed that the first person he thought of when in trouble was his mother. Jimmy attempts a philosophic generalization of his own: "No matter how many times your mother advises you, she has had more experience" (17).

Jimmy strongly craves pleasure and love. His desires for pleasure take many forms. A boy goes for a joy ride in an automobile (13). A boy, who fails to heed his mother's advice, goes to a hotel and has a good meal (17). A man who works his way up in the world realizes his desire for fine clothes and food (22). Characters in the stories yearn for a life of ease (12, 36). On the other hand, there is a reaction against success and fear of and guilt about wealth. His stories show the adolescent belief that parties are the acme of pleasure (39, 42).

Themes of love pervade the stories (1, 10, 36, 40). Boy meets girl (18, 37), and the romance leads to marriage (8, 38). On another level, there are values in friendship (22). Love for a human being is displaced onto love for a dog (13) and love of nature (24).

Jimmy is sensitive to sexual features and characteristics. He is attracted to femininity (3) and has decided likes and dislikes with regard to women. From the arrangement of a girl's hair and the way her face and mouth are shaped in a picture he judges that she has a lovely voice and spirit (6). He finds the servant type alluring and despises girls who give way to their emotions too easily. He describes the type of woman he does not like as thin, with eyes curious for gossip, eyes wide open, hair crudely arranged, not very neat, having low intelligence and not much schooling (32). He tends to worship girls from a distance. In one story a girl is forced to go to a party with a boy whom she does not like, and there she meets a boy who becomes her friend (6). This is to be compared with Jimmy's own experiences, since he had to accompany his sister's friends, but saw his feminine ideal at a distance.

Jimmy fantasizes extramarital sex relations. These fantasies come out clearly in the story in which two young people were married secretly because they had had relations (14). The boy who left home against his parents' advice met a girl, pretty and attractive, and "got into a little trouble with her" (17). Jimmy fantasizes conception out of wedlock. A blonde girl "got mixed up in heavy necking" and "after a party discovered she was going to have a baby" (33). A son comes home and falls in love with the housemaid (31). A boy marries before he had been graduated from medical school (35). Love frequently is fickle. A girl who receives a letter breaking off an engage-

ment falls in love with the mailman (1). A wife discovers that her husband is involved with another woman (38). A woman finally accepts her son's marriage when she learns that it is legal (14).

Jimmy's notion of pleasure becomes sublimated in his desire to write. In story 12 the youngest son, who is not understood by the other members of the family, starts to write, and eventually his plays are produced and he turns out to be the success of the family. Another boy comes to the great city and writes poems, short stories, novels, and plays about the great city, which bring him posthumous success (18).

Underlying this search for pleasure is Jimmy's own search for self-realization. In his own words Jimmy states of the boy who strives alone to become a writer in the "great cruel cold city" that "he was searching for himself, I guess" (18).

For his assertiveness against his father and his revolt against his mother's practical ambitions for him and his vague desires for pleasure and self-realization Jimmy has guilt and believes that he deserves punishment. The woman who was suspected of having murdered her sister commits suicide (38). The boy who identifies with his criminal father is finally caught by the police (27). The man who is accused of stealing the company's money is sent to jail (26).

There is a reaction against success. The successful munitions manufacturer finds that people have turned against him (11). Punishment follows pleasure (11, 13, 36). The boy who goes for a joy ride smashes into a truck and is finally sent to jail (13). Illicit sex affairs bring punishment as a sequel. Two stories of illicit sex relationships are followed by a story of a boy who becomes a criminal and eventually a social outcast (14, 15). The girl who goes with "men who could not be considered right" contracts syphilis (29). The unsophisticated girl in a private school who goes to a wild party eventually has to leave home and "learns the hard way" (42). Even marriage has a sequel of frustration. The girl who has a lover receives a letter breaking off their engagement (1). The young married man has a weak will so that eventually his criminal career lands him in jail (4). The medical student who married young kills his own wife in an automobile accident (35). The mother who holds family and background most important, even more important than love, is exposed by her son (31). However, these masochistic trends sometimes are the road

of suffering through which eventually the greater reward is won. The boy who runs away to the great city and attempts to make a career as a writer is recognized as a genius only after he is dead (18). The youngest son who is looked upon by his family as a dreamer actually turns out to be the successful member of the family and saves the family status (12).

Jimmy can envisage many forms of punishment, among which are death (11, 25), suicide (14, 38), crime and eventual punishment (8, 9), becoming an outcast (15), syphilis (29), drinking (8), stealing (8), "squealing" on another person (15), breaking an engagement (1), shame and blushing (42), failure in school (27), leaving a husband (35), becoming an outcast from home (42). Guilt is counterbalanced in at least one story by repentance: "He had done wrong, but had repented a little and now would have to spend the rest of time in Erebus between heaven and hell" (15). Guilt is also managed by reform. "Upon hearing the tragic story of an old bum whose weak will led him toward destruction, a young fellow promised to make a new start" (9).

Jimmy has a number of devices for defending himself against his various aggressive and affectional drives. One is to retire from social contacts. One girl was "born scared and probably will be scared for the rest of her life." When told that her cousin was coming to the house, she worried about it. When she finds that her cousin is a boy, she "passes out" (37). Jimmy tends to project some of his difficulties. For instance, he blames parents for keeping their children unsophisticated. The girl who went to a party while at school away from home and became pregnant had always been protected from contact with people by her parents (42). Jimmy resents being kept ignorant by parents (24, 33). "Her parents had let an innocent girl go out into the world with no means of protection" (33). In his stories parents also project by placing the blame on the girl (14), by luring the son on, and by early marriage depriving him of success (35). Jimmy is something of a philosopher and includes in his stories many aphorisms which symbolize his attempts to resolve his conflicts. Two such statements as, "It is foolish to worry, for the deed is done and she can't contest consequences any more" (34) and "Take life as it comes, for if one is sad about the future it will make one's present life sad" (8).

Notwithstanding Jimmy's revolt against his mother's ambitions for him, he has a strong superego and is very sensitive to his mother's wishes. The landlady does not permit cooking in her rooms (4). Young people engaged in illicit sexual relations see behind them a dead mother's spirit (14). The boy who fails to listen to his mother's advice later philosophizes that "no matter how boring, it is good to hear advice once in awhile" (17). In fact one's parents are not as threatening as one's own conscience. The tenants who expect to be criticized by their landlady for cooking in their rooms are instead wished by her a Merry Christmas (4). The girl who returned home late from the high school prom is not scolded by her father the following day (39).

A number of stories are told from the point of view of the girl (1, 3, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 38, 39, 42). Even though some of these stories are derived from pictures in which the principal figure in the picture is a girl, Jimmy tells them very realistically from the girl's point of view. In one story the name Frances (Francis) is used as a play on mistaken sexual identity. The name is first taken to indicate a girl. However, there is no indication that this identification represents a homosexual tendency, but rather, by identifying with a female figure, defenses against unacceptable drives are increased.

Implications for Education Growing Out of the Interpretation of the Stories

As has already been stated, Jimmy is a well-adjusted boy who has excellent social relations with his associates and is successful in school. From his stories one discovers that he is in the process of working through his adolescent independence. There is every reason to believe that he will be successful in achieving this and should reach full adult maturity. Actually, although he is tied emotionally to his mother, he also seems to exercise resistance to her demands and has acquired a certain amount of independence. One can only wonder whether Jimmy will eventually yield to his mother's practical demands, as his father did on a former occasion, or whether he will be able to accomplish the fruition of his own idealistic ambitions. The future only can answer this question. Jimmy is the kind of boy who does not need special attention in school in order to solve his problems. School is already providing for him the opportunity for valu-

able social contacts and for learning independence. School should give a boy like Jimmy every opportunity to develop leadership and help him to become more assertive in his dealings with others. He should be encouraged to express himself independently without fear of criticism on the part of his teacher.

XVI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

FORTY-TWO STORIES were collected from each of forty normal adolescent boys and girls in the junior and senior high schools of Suburban City. The 1680 stories collected have been analyzed for their thematic content and classified. The frequency of themes in each class has served as a basis for the determination of norms. The stories have been compared with the life history material in order to determine the amount of correspondence or divergence between them. Correlations have been computed between ratings of adjustment, teachers' behavior ratings, I.Q.'s, the frequency of occurrence of themes, and certain scores on the Sheviakov-Friedberg Questionnaire. The following conclusions have been reached as a result of this study.

1. When analyzed from the point of view of content, stories secured by the picture-story method have little or no diagnostic significance. So far as can be determined from the cases in this study, there is little correlation between any content theme and ratings for adjustment. Formal factors in the stories may have diagnostic significance for determining psychiatric status, but the data of this study do not permit its determination.

2. Stories most successfully reveal personality when interpreted dynamically. Themes in the stories are those which would be expected from the findings of dynamic psychology and psychoanalytic theory.

3. The same dynamic principles which explain the personalities of poorly adjusted individuals also help us to understand the personalities of well-adjusted individuals.

4. The stories represent the projection of personality at several levels. The characters in the story show trends which correspond not only to the observable characteristics of the individuals telling the stories but also to their unexpressed needs and anxieties. It is also possible to observe and detect themes which have symbolic signifi-

cance at a still deeper level of personality. The personality trends revealed by the picture-story method on the whole represent persistent and deep-seated trends in the individual rather than temporary and superficial trends.

5. There is a warming up effect in the picture-story method. Maximum theme production can be expected only after some twenty stories have been told.

6. Relatively few themes occur with high frequency. Themes related to family, aggression, punishment, economic concern, separation, and love occur frequently in adolescent stories, and the presence of these themes is not significant unless the themes occur more frequently than is to be expected according to the table of norms. Themes not in the table of norms may be considered significant when given frequently by an individual.

7. In general, when a theme is exaggerated in the stories there is an absence of this trend in the personality of the individual, and vice versa; pronounced trends in the personality of an individual will not be expressed in the stories. It is concluded that when an individual works out a need through his behavior and personality, he does not find it necessary to express it in fantasy; but when a need is repressed from overt expression in behavior, it is likely to find expression in fantasy.

8. It is not possible to infer with certainty from the stories anything concerning the life history of the individual telling them. Picture-story material should be interpreted in the light of case material available for that individual. The more that is known about the individual, the greater the significance of the stories.

9. Frequently a dynamic sequence may be observed within a story and also over a series of three or four stories.

10. Stories contain various displacements and disguises to hide the identity of the actual persons toward whom feelings are directed in real life.

11. Sex in the stories is no barrier to identification. A boy may identify equally well with a male or with a female character in a picture, and so may a girl.

12. A person identifies himself to some extent with all the characters in a story.

13. The narrator's associations with regard to the story help meas-

urably in certain cases to make it possible to understand the meaning of the fantasy.

14. There is no relationship between the source of the stories and the personality of the individual telling them.

15. Correlations of the themes with adjustment and teacher ratings of behavior are insignificant and negligible.

16. Each picture produces stories with characteristic themes.

17. Themes of aggression and love are practically universal in the fantasies of adolescents. Younger adolescents tell stories with more themes of happiness than older adolescents; older adolescents tell stories with more themes of discouragement, disappointment, anxiety, fear, and dread than younger adolescents. Older adolescents also produce more themes relating to job and work, school, scolding, disapproval, forbidding, parties, dances, sport, anger, age, wondering, and thinking.

18. Boys tell stories with more violent aggression, with more themes of love, more interest in wealth and riches than girls do. The stories of boys are more exaggerated. The aggression in stories told by girls is of a milder nature, represented by disapproval, scolding, and forbidding.

19. It is not easy to use the picture-story method to study specific attitudes which are of interest to the investigator. Each individual tells stories which are related to his own conflicts.

20. The nature of a child's adjustments can be best recognized by studying the adjustments themselves, since they may be observed in actual situations rather than through fantasies.

21. For a counselor a knowledge of a client's fantasy is of the utmost importance. However, in using the information gained from the picture-story method a counselor should proceed by indirection.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SKETCHES OF THE FORTY CASES

Brief descriptions of each are here presented. These descriptions may be of service to the reader who would like to have a somewhat fuller picture of a given boy or girl than that given in the text following the presentation and discussion of stories. In general, each case description consists of two paragraphs. The first paragraph contains a sketch of the case material—the second, a summary of the principal themes culled from the story material.

CASE 1: WALLACE (Junior High School)

This thirteen-year-old boy (I.Q. 115, grade 8), the older of two boys, is much spoiled and overprotected. Basically rejected by his aggressive mother for the younger sibling, he is overindulged and overprotected. When anything goes wrong at school, his mother protests to the teachers. Wallace is irresponsible, cocky, self-sure, and needs to assert his strong points; a good organizer and salesman, impressed with his own importance. He is impudent and "smart-alecky," sneaky, a troublemaker, and not compelled to work. He is a general nuisance. His parents believe that he should not be reproved.

His stories are very exaggerated and full of extravagances. He is openly interested in sex, of which he is ignorant—believing it to be dangerous and sadistic—a mystery in the dark. He tells stories of supermen. He has a strong impulse to assert his masculinity and strength, but easily becomes hurt and goes back to mother. He expresses sibling rivalry, with mother favoring his brother. He is plainly hostile to his mother. He fantasizes being bold and unrestrained—the bold bad man, and his themes include running away and returning to mother. He recognizes these fantasies of masculinity as disordered. The Oedipus conflict is plainly evident.

CASE 2: RALPH (Junior High School)

This thirteen-year-old (I.Q. 114, grade 8) is an only child who lives with his divorced mother who works and takes evening courses. Occasionally he visits his aunt, his uncle, and his father (remarried) in Danburg. His mother treats him sadistically. She afflicted toilet training on him early and severely. Even today she is very strict and exacts obedience by threats

and punishment. As a result, he is meek, mild, hesitant, talkative, does not quarrel, and wants strict teachers. As a result of an auto accident his arm cannot be straightened. His mother admits that he is immature. His father believed in punishing him. Ralph ran away, and his mother allowed his jailers to keep him overnight. She says that if he runs away again, he may stay in jail. He is a solitary child, but a fighter. He has no interest in girls, but his mother forced him to go to a party. Boys like him. His teachers say he is fun-loving, mischievous, a good mixer, but quiet and afraid to talk in class.

His stories are wild and fantastic. Nearly every story has a revenge motive (for example, 42). There are themes of running away, always followed by returning for fear the mother is ill; fear of accident; belief in the magical, and miraculous. There are stories full of symbolism and strong need for punishment, but the hero usually extricates himself. The need to earn money is an important theme, but the hero often gives the money to his mother or uses it to help her. The father figure varies—a wealthy, good father or a cruel father, whose son wants to kill him. He shows great fear of the gorilla father.

CASE 3: RAYMOND (Junior High School)

This sixteen-year-old boy (I.Q. 120, grade 9) has two sisters, ages three and seven, and a brother thirteen. As the oldest boy, he has a place to maintain in the family, and he struggles to be first in both scholarship and athletics. His thirteen-year-old brother is urged to emulate Raymond's record. Tends to overlord not only his brother but also his father and his mother. He is very *compulsive*—must have his own dishes and silver. He will not eat food that has been touched by another person; will not share his clothing. He insisted on being transferred from 7A-2 to 7A-1. His mother thinks her thirteen-year-old is brighter than Raymond. He has been known to have episodes of exhibitionism, and he enjoys dates with girls. His brother James is more of a problem. His father believes in punishment for his sons. Other boys say Raymond picks fights and is jealous. Teachers say he is independent, but jumpy.

His stories are full of masochistic humbleness—stories of ordinary boys. Strong conflict is shown between good and bad, with rejection of evil. Prodigal son themes are used by him, and sibling rivalry comes out plainly. Themes include the achievement of greatness from humble beginnings and receiving an inheritance or windfall. The hero will dance with the unpopular girl. He is very critical of his own stories—showing his high standards. He writes of Friar Tuck—the gay monk and of supporting a father and a mother in later life, the child a parent of his parents. He

fantasies getting beaten by his younger brother. There are many contrasts in these stories—achieving success and failure; the good and the bad; wrongdoing followed by severe punishment; illness or failure, followed by recovery.

CASE 4: JACK (Junior High School)

This fifteen-year-old boy (I.Q. 103, grade 9) is a state ward and lives with a guardian (his second). His father died of accident and illness when he was ten. Mother had hard time with older boy and girl and two younger girls. Older brother has a criminal record, and his sister is in a reformatory on a morals charge. He has a sympathetic guardian. He is superficially fond of his guardian's son. He has a poor reputation in school, and causes friction with the teachers. He has a hot temper, but he apologizes. He was suspended from school because of a cafeteria episode. He is not brilliant, is annoying to teachers, and wants to join the Navy.

His stories are filled with yearning for happiness, normal home life, loneliness and neglect, and of working hard to better self. They are realistic, and in many of them the father or the mother or both are dead (passively killed), and the problem is how to struggle along without them. There is a strong conflict between good and bad, with the good usually winning—he would like to reform his brother. Repentance is obvious—wants parents to grieve for him. Identifies with a feminine figure. He fantasies infidelity and jealousy—using another for selfish purposes—but also beautiful romance, being adopted in a rich family, but also jealousy of the rich. He fantasies running away and grieving parents. He feels responsibility for the mother.

CASE 5: HAROLD (Junior High School)

This thirteen-year-old boy (I.Q. 109, grade 8) is described as being a sissy and a fairy. He has been very strictly brought up by a mother who superintends his every activity. He is given dolls and doll houses for Christmas, wears Peter Pan collars, and is discouraged from contact sports. His mother fusses and worries over him. Has taken ballet dancing since 1st grade and has put on a public performance with a girl partner. Is now taking up tap dancing and ballroom dancing. Has no interest in girls yet. Teachers find him a fine little fellow—polite, co-operative, calm, and quiet. Boys think he is a nice fellow. Harold is not a leader.

Stories are filled with unabashed thoughts of death. Nearly every story ends with the death of the principal character. There are death wishes toward both mother and father. He sees himself as a criminal getting just punishment. He is much interested in sex (which he considers dirty and

sadistic) and looks forward to marriage. There are clear-cut Oedipus stories in which the father is dead and he is taking automobile trips with the mother. There are sequences of punishment following these fantasies. When he fantasies freedom, he kills a snake and is bitten by a dog. He has fantasies of being a boxing champion and of running away.

CASE 6: ROY (Junior High School)

This thirteen-year-old boy (I.Q. 118, grade 8) is on the fat side—stolid, co-operative, calm, without aggressive assurance, but hesitant. His teachers say he is without initiative—quiet, lazy, always smiling. One of them suggests that he is too scared to make a disturbance—never volunteers, is very polite, and speaks in a low voice. Boys consider him a little queer—always getting into trouble. He was very slow in telling the stories. He is an only child. He likes to read adventure stories; likes swimming, camping, the out-of-doors. Between the ages of 2 and 7 he ran away many times—a sort of wanderer. His mother is a severe disciplinarian—not much for crying or affection. His autobiography is largely about the accidents and other misfortunes that have happened to him.

His stories are full of excitement, adventure, and criminal deeds. A frequent sequence is crime, getting caught, and punishment. Then there is usually some character who acts as spy and reveals the criminal, saves the innocent man, and is rewarded. There are stories of mystery and danger. A boy runs away in order to be searched for. One boy wants to live with his mother and to be able to support her. Roy fantasies buying a house—but the house may be haunted. In one story the mother is strict; the boy is punished by his father. The hero is always getting into dangerous situations. Anger is shown toward the mother and then guilt and punishment for it.

CASE 7: JEROME (Junior High School)

This fourteen-year-old boy's (I.Q. 89, grade 9) mother died when he was five. He took it hard and has always missed her. His father remarried when he was eleven. His grandmother resisted letting him go with his father. He is not well spoken of in school. The boys call him a bully, a tyrant, and a tough. He is a problem in the classroom—disorderly. But teachers speak well of him: "he is working hard this year"; "he gets yelled at enough, but if sympathetically handled he will turn out O.K." He has an older brother (twenty-three) and a stepsister (two). His father is Episcopalian—stepmother, Roman Catholic. He wants to be a cartoonist and would like to leave school. He is athletic. He has rebelled against his stepmother and has run away from home. The school principal reports sex exhibitionism.

His stories are very revealing, indicating a desire for reform, repentance, and apology. He wants to do well in school, be a president and grown up; wants understanding parents. His heroes leave home, but return—homesick. He feels strong guilt for hostile fantasies. In his stories an “upperdog” feels guilty for his success, repents, and lets “underdog” have a chance. He considers worst punishment worry. He is afraid of being thought a sissy and has very strong superego. His old home is gone—feels he must support new. He fears leaving home—“maybe if I had been home, mother wouldn’t have died.” There are fears coming home late at night. Many stories involve orphans. Religious conflict plays a part in his stories.

CASE 8: ROGER (Junior High School)

This fourteen-year-old boy’s (I.Q. 102, grade 9) mother died when he was 18 months old. After that he lived with his father at the home of his grandparents until he was five, when his father remarried. At that time he thought his grandmother was his mother. He liked his stepmother, since she was young and “peppy.” His figure is now somewhat feminine. He was very much overprotected by his grandmother and was unable to dress himself, etc. He is mischievous in school, but has a pleasant, ingratiating personality. Boys call him “nice”—happy-go-lucky. He will not help in the home. He lacks perseverance, tried out for band, but would not master the saxophone. He has a stepbrother three years old. He wants to be a pilot, but is afraid of aeroplanes.

His fantasies are filled with murders, violence, robberies, kidnapping, excitement, all told in a rather matter-of-fact way. His jealousy of his younger brother and his anger toward his stepmother are revealed clearly in his stories. He puts some emphasis on eating, and shows some castration fears. His stories are confused, disorganized, schizoid. He tells a story of two men after same girl and fears that girl will marry other fellow. A conflict between good and bad is evident; he thinks of getting what he wants by force (crime), to be followed by counteraggression and punishment. The extent of his aggressive fantasy is related to his overprotection. His jealousy makes him believe that he is a criminal. Underneath is considerable anxiety.

CASE 9: SAM (Junior High School)

This fourteen-year-old boy (I.Q. 121, grade 9) is an only child. His father is an interior decorator; his mother a librarian. His mother gives the orders; his father makes sure they are carried out. His father is very strict, interested in his school marks, lectures him, and will not let him go out at night; used to lick him. He is calm, but tense, and worries

over exams. At school he works by spurts. He is self-centered and day-dreams. His mother's health broke down three times following his birth. Sam does well in school according to his grades. Teachers say he is lazy, careless, thoughtless, and a show-off. He does not like outdoor work; likes writing (poems and stories), reading, arguing, and music.

His stories are very masochistic. He places himself constantly in a feminine role. His heroines become blinded, crippled, sick, and live in seclusion, but later are applauded and rewarded. He uses themes of running away from home, but also of home dependency. There are themes of gifts of great wealth and of wishing to be a movie star. His men figures are gruff, but are eventually killed. Frequently a boy is outwitted by a girl or is rescued by a boy. Many themes concern doing something to gain recognition, and they show conflict between good and bad. Most stories have happy endings.

CASE 10: EDGAR (Junior High School)

This fifteen-year-old boy (I.Q. 98, grade 9)—small, tough, self-assured—comes from a family of low-level culture. Having come from a parochial school, he is constantly in trouble in the public school. One teacher says he is the most disliked boy in school, insolent, and won't stay for detention. Another says that he has perverted sex problems. He has reputation for being able to draw. He wants praise—likes to appear tough, but has a soft streak. His home is unstable. His father is easy going and frequently out of work. His mother is unstable and leaves home for days at a time. His brother is thirty. He can reason with one older sister, but with another older sister he quarrels. Edgar's mind is full of questions.

His stories abound in wild adventure, distorted fantasy, much aggression, anxiety, rather obvious and crude sex and marriage. Themes include inconstancy as natural, and much crime, punishment, and reform. There is much conflict between good and bad. His heroes question whether they will be believed; fear tragic accidents; castration fears are pronounced. They fear becoming crazy (because of masturbation?), and feel a need for stricter discipline. A father drinks and either has death wishes or runs away. Edgar fantasies great riches that come by magic and shows that he feels that others are talking about him. He obviously has strong sex anxiety.

CASE 11: KARL (Junior High School)

This fourteen-year-old boy (I.Q. 93, grade 7) is badly disturbed mentally—decidedly schizophrenic. He has a history of motor inco-ordination which may be due to a birth injury. His teachers are puzzled by him; he is quiet, but odd. They find him deceitful and a dreamer. He has

a large head. He is very affectionate. Because of a nightmare about school he was given a different science teacher. His mother is concerned about him and takes him to a psychiatrist in Warner. His mother impressed the investigator as insincere. Karl tells of punishment by parents and sibling favoritism, but this may be exaggerated.

His stories are very weird, disorganized, and exaggerated. He has an obsession about numbers—sign of anxiety. He has strong anxiety—fears rain, thunder and lightning, and ghosts; probably because of aggressive fantasies which came out without disguise against his father and his mother. He is very much concerned about food. Stories of robbers, identification with great men, strict and punitive teachers. He has fantasies of destruction by fire and simple, unemotional fantasies of getting married. His stories show much anal aggression. There are simple themes of omnipotence and greatness.

CASE 12: CATHERINE (Junior High School)

This fourteen-year-old girl (I.Q. 107, grade 9) is spoken of as nervous, high strung, and "jumpy." She has a violent temper occasionally, but is usually quiet. Often absent from school on Mondays with headache and upset stomach. She has difficulty in making up her mind. She wears bright red clothes, is stubborn, forgets to bring materials to class, is argumentative, speaks out of turn, and has a speech defect. She is "boy crazy." Her older sister is away from home. Her mother, who is careless in appearance, meets Catherine every day after school and takes her window shopping, depriving her of going to ball games and being with boys. From four to seven years of age she had vomiting spells. Her sister had a serious operation three years ago. She has a dog. She assumes responsibility at home. She is headstrong, believing she is right.

Her stories are bizarre, wild, and disordered, including fire and flood. They show much anxiety. As shown in her stories she wants to be free and independent but also to be secure. She fears losing members of family, being cooped up in a little house, and shadows and noises at night. She feels that she is too strictly guarded, but feels that every girl should have a mother. She shows much anxiety over the future—exams, illness, accidents. She actually wants to get lost on some Sunday trip as a reality test. She is afraid of what may happen to her. She fears her mother—a woman who pricks her husband with a needle.

CASE 13: LAURA (Junior High School)

This immature thirteen-year-old girl (I.Q. 110, grade 8) is highly inhibited and has an obsessional tendency. Her teachers refer to her as

quiet, overly polite, not too bright, very conscientious, a worrier, willing, co-operative, and obedient. She had had severe migraine headaches until she was nine. Her mother, a busy, able woman dominates her—wishes Laura were more aggressive. She is too docile and obedient. Having two older brothers, she is the family pet. Her father is also quiet and unobtrusive. She has a pet dog and a cat. She says she is lonesome.

Stories show death wishes toward her mother and her father, but also a yearning for her father to return. According to her stories she is anxious about separation, getting lost, being alone, being an orphan, and being adopted. They contain themes of saving, themes of the mysterious big house and strange sounds at night, a theme of an unpopular girl making herself attractive against parental opposition and finally becoming popular. There is jealousy because of a mother's fondness for a brother whom the mother would like to send away. There is a conflict between wishing to leave home and be independent and searching for her mother. She fears retaliation from others for her aggression.

CASE 14: VIOLA (Junior High School)

This fourteen-year-old girl (I.Q. 139, grade 9) is spoken of enthusiastically by her teachers. They respect her ability, say she is mature, dependable, and co-operative. She is home-room president. She talks philosophically and speculatively. Boys do not understand her—because of her considerable ability to verbalize her ideas and feelings. She is a young sophisticate and talks of her conflict with her mother, who is strict with her. She hides her emotions behind an impassive exterior. She is an only child. Her father drinks, her parents quarrel, and the family is not well off. She is alone a great deal and has a fantasy life. She once had a nervous breakdown and went on a trip with her grandmother.

She narrated extremely masochistic stories. The hero (or heroine) frequently dies, suffers, isolates self, or is a failure. She thinks of herself as average. Her themes include death, separation from parents, and hunting for a lost father who suffers misfortune. She likes to draw contrasts between the fortunate and the unfortunate boy or girl—the good boy or girl usually suffers. She tends to be philosophic and to attend to unusual details. There are themes of jealousy between siblings and of hiding her feelings behind a wall of indifference. She feels isolated. Her masochism in the stories is in contrast to her resentment of restriction in real life.

CASE 15: ADA (Junior High School)

This girl (I.Q. 112, grade 9), now fifteen, had infantile paralysis when twelve and is now very nervous, excitable, and unstable. It is not certain

that her present state is a result of the paralysis; her teachers suggest that she has been overprotected. She wishes to be a dancer and takes two lessons a week, but she does not practice regularly, flitting from one thing to another. She reads a good deal—mystery stories. She spends her summers in a northern city and has a crush on a boy. She goes with older companions. She is highly emotional and unstable with friends—and has crushes on other children. She has a temper and tries to dramatize herself. Her mother is also unstable. There are no siblings.

She told long, complicated stories and many have an element of mystery. In some, parents are dead or missing. Frequently the heroine loses her father and goes to search for him. The father is a murderer or a criminal; a son murders his father; a housekeeper wants to put a girl out of her way; a father kills his daughter. There is a kidnapping by a wealthy man; a suicide after homicide; an arrest, conviction, and punishment. A man adopts a girl. There are themes of twins or a double; identification with the bad girl, who is about to be punished when the good girl intervenes. There is struggle, failure, success, the attainment of wealth. The dead comes back to life. The heroine lives happily.

CASE 16: JESSICA (Junior High School)

Although this girl is fourteen (I.Q. 102, grade 9), she is undeveloped, immature, and childish. She does only mediocre work in school. She has attended parochial school until this year and still longs for the former school. She lacks push, and physically is not strong. She hates to see people hurt. She is spoken of as shy, indifferent, defensive, and as doing sloppy work. Her mother gave the interviewer only ten minutes of her time. Her mother describes her as pleasant, with an even disposition, as responding readily to requests for help, and as getting along well with people. With her friends she is childish; they giggle together. Her autobiography is limited and childish. She does not go out with boys; is still immature.

Her stories are buoyant and cheerful; many of them have happy endings. The Pollyanna theme is plainly evident. There are rationalizations to explain the tragedies. There are themes of keeping clean and neat. She gets on with her crowd by being polite and avoiding arguments. She thinks herself superior and moral as compared with others. She denies ambitions—is content to be an "average girl." Her stories are highly obsessional and passive. They show belief in magic, and there is evidence of mother rivalry and strong repression. Her themes include a wish to help the mother, but actually she is dependent and childish.

CASE 17: EDITH (Junior High School)

This intelligent thirteen-year-old girl (I.Q. 142, grade 9) receives very high praise from her teachers. They say she is a leader and an organizer, efficient, and popular with other pupils. She is independent, lacks sense of humor, does excellent work, and is co-operative, well-poised, and non-aggressive. She is short and sturdy and has plain features. She wants to be a musical comedy actress; has taken part in school plays, but got only second lead. She is the oldest of two girls, whose ages are not far apart. There are three in-laws in the family. She is popular with the boys—is said to be “boy crazy.” She likes active sports. She is obedient at home, but does not care for housework. She herself is excited over her conquests as an entertainer. She hates the thought of death, is moody, and is easily embarrassed.

Her stories show great anxiety and depression. There are themes of hostility toward a woman who disapproves of sex, but of lacking nerve to be aggressive. There is a feeling of anxiety and guilt over sex. One story describes panic over fire and being consumed. There are themes of failure—showing a tendency toward masochism, of concern over a rival and the need to be popular above all else, of self-pity and the projection of self-pity into pitying others and the reparation processes of helping others. There are themes of secrecy, to be contrasted with her desire to display herself and become an actress. Her stories show her fear of being jilted by boys. It is clear that her anxiety about sex is related to her popularity and leadership in her actual relations.

CASE 18: ISABEL (Junior High School)

Teachers refer to this fourteen-year-old girl (I.Q. 108, grade 9) as nervous, fearful, tense, and quiet. She is immature, bites her nails, is impulsive, nonaggressive, and not a leader. But she is capable and has personality, although she is also a bluffer. Her mother is critical, says she has facial mannerisms, is nervous and dominating, and nags and teases at home until she gets what she wants. She is nervous, like her father. She gets on well with her older sister. She is noisy—plays a drum in the orchestra. She dreads the isolation of old age. She has a close girl friend.

Her stories give the impression of a strong but repressed sex drive and free-floating anxiety. She chooses to be bored and do nothing rather than to risk sex. She fears being hurt and alone. One heroine knows her mother would not be at home, so she goes with a girl friend. The parents in her stories are strict, prevent any attempt at self-initiative, and take away means of gratification. If a girl escapes from parental domination, someone gets

hurt and punished. To her sex is bad and to be punished, but she fantasies romance. She fantasies a good aunt (mother?) who gives child a penny.

CASE 19: STELLA (Junior High School)

This fourteen-year-old girl (I.Q. 120, grade 9) has a good reputation among teachers as dependable, conscientious, having a good personality, a good worker, quiet, not overly aggressive, but with leadership capacity, able to take care of herself, wistful, and sometimes a little pathetic. Both she and her mother worry over conflict with sister 1½ years younger. There is an older brother; the youngest in the family is another brother. The interviewer believes she wants to make a good impression. Their family is the social center for the neighborhood. She associates with an older set—resents having her younger sister go with her. She does not like school and says she is selfish.

Her stories are simple, straightforward, and realistic. Many stories show inner conflict. She tends to wish to excel, but fears that “showing off” will antagonize others. She is essentially optimistic. She feels ashamed and guilty over her rivalry and hostility to her sister, although there is rivalry (sexual) really with her older sister. She has a strong wish to be independent. She wants to be appreciated—has fantasy wishes. She fantasies being an orphan adopted by a doctor. She fears the dark. She has a distinctly feminine identification and is actually ashamed quarreling with her family and is anxious about it. She has a strong superego, and after experiencing her wishes, she turns and selects the “good”—the expected. She shows strong family loyalty.

CASE 20: BARBARA (Junior High School)

This girl (I.Q. 113, grade 9) makes different impressions on different people. She is a tomboy, plays boys' games with boys, strives to be first, and bosses the girls. Her teachers call her quiet, demure, efficient, and solid. Resembles her mother in build, but wears severe clothes. Another teacher calls her sweet, but not her sister's equal. Another calls her nervous and quick-tempered. At home she is mean, ugly, not affectionate, difficult to handle, argumentative, unwilling to help her mother, and she takes advantage of her father, who is good to her. Writes good-quality stories in school.

Her stories are long, expressive, verbal, and emotional. She identifies easily with others. She has a strong urge to be successful, at the top, ahead of others. She is interested in food. She would like to be lax and let her studies go, but fears the consequences (actually does good school work). In her stories she “learns a lesson,” gives gifts to her mother, is mean to her

mother, but feels guilty and apologizes. Her father was accidentally killed. She takes from her father to give to her mother. She is frightened at a possible burglar, who turns out to be a dog, who wants to steal the silver, which turns out to be garbage.

CASE 21: NATALIE (Junior High School)

This thirteen-year-old girl (I.Q. 114, grade 8) is very quiet, demure, unobtrusive, and emotionally undeveloped. Her teachers say that they do not know her or that she is very quiet and withdrawn. Some think she is dull. They cannot hear her when she recites. Her mother is very dominating and has initiative. She is disturbed about Natalie and wants to force her to have more initiative. Her father is quiet—Natalie on very good terms with him. Natalie spends much time in a fantasy world—planning wardrobes for her dolls; she has imaginary companions. She has a brother and a sister—does not get on well with the brother.

Her stories show repression of sex, sex wishes and fears, fear of losing job, of being handicapped, of failing in exams, of being caught in games, of gossip—all raising the question as to whether she will be accepted or will expose self. She fantasies homelessness, loneliness, and strangeness, a father dead, and a mother needing help. If she is quiet, people will make a fuss over her. She fantasies defiance followed by punishment or rejection and has a childish point of view. Her stories are short and emotional. In a sense, they are schizoid. Her domestic proclivities are her own control against her desire to go out and gain experience.

CASE 22: MABEL (Junior High School)

This fourteen-year-old girl (I.Q. 106, grade 9) is well spoken of by her teachers—a sweet girl, co-operative, popular, but does not work up to capacity. She is 100 percent normal. She is on the serious side, is neat, and does not make advances. She has a brother, on whom mother dotes, now in Wesleyan. She gave theatrical performances as a child and is musical, but does not like to practice. Father is strict and punishing. Mother speaks of her as healthy, cheerful, sweet, poised, active, precocious, mischievous. She wants to be a doctor, but her parents do not approve and want her to prepare for musical career.

Stories show a girl with wishes to be vulgar, but actually is afraid to venture out alone. Time and again there is the sequence in one story of the wish for romance and love followed by severe punishment given by strict parents in the next. She is afraid to be assertive and independent. Her sweetness is a reaction formation against the desire to be coarse and vulgar. She fears that her parents will desert her if she transgresses. She

shows great envy and jealousy of brother and the wish that harm may come to him; also, hostile feelings toward her father. Last note evidences fear of pleasure and locking it out.

CASE 23: MAE (Junior High School)

This twelve-year-old girl (I.Q. 116, grade 8) lives with an aunt. Her mother died when she was five months old; father remarried, but died when she was five. Stepmother is very slovenly. She has one own brother, stepbrother, and a stepsister. Now, after having been moved about after her father's death, she lives with her aunt, who provides a nice home. She is pleasant, sincere, liked by children and teachers, unsophisticated, unassuming, able to take care of herself. She does good work in school, especially with regard to math. She is sentimentally inclined; two months after menarche, she was excited at being asked to a dance by a boy.

Stories are Cinderella stories—the poor, neglected girl who meets her Prince Charming and marries happily. There are themes of losing her parents (particularly father) and her brother and of finding or rescuing them. There are themes of having twins and comparisons of good and bad girls—the one dominating and masculine, the other receptive and feminine. There is aggression toward her stepmother, whom she feels kidnapped her, but she wants to be wanted. She fantasies herself as her mother's successor; as being homeless, separated from parents, and then reunited in a new home. Can also fantasy herself as a boy and as becoming her father's successor.

CASE 24: MARGARET (Senior High School)

This sixteen-year-old girl (I.Q. 116, grade 11) is charming, pleasant, popular, has a ready smile, and is full of life and fun, a ready wit. She is an only child. She is also unreliable, irresponsible, a class clown, and full of plans she doesn't carry out. She is large, neat, careful about her clothing, boyish, and fond of athletics. She is engaged. She was pleasant and outgoing with the interviewer. Father is unstable (nineteen jobs in past eighteen years). He wants Margaret to be what he has not been and is full of plans for her future. He had wanted a son. He was born of a large family on a farm and had had little education.

Margaret showed strong identification with father and hostility toward mother. There was conflict between rebellion and conformity—but she believes conformity is best. She feels guilty because of opposing mother and fearful of being left alone. Marriage furnishes a way out. Opposing her mother arouses her anxiety. Joking is a weapon to express rebellion. She has high ideals—neatness in dress, being sincere, obeying rules, get-

ting an education. She has a strong Oedipus complex—her mother is dead, and she is living with her father. She fears her mother's jealousy. Would like to hurt or kill mother, but is afraid. Popularity is a defense against anxiety.

CASE 25: JULIA (Senior High School)

This sixteen-year-old girl (I.Q. 87, grade 10) has long red hair, bright clothes, and flashy jewelry. She is not very bright in school; does poor school work. She is spoiled, undisciplined, and keen on boys and dancing. She is called the best dresser in her room—has quantities of clothes. She did not write an autobiography and no one interviewed her parents. Her aunt makes her clothes, and she has several cousins. She lacks energy, goes with an older group, has one younger sister, and is reserved. She does not face the interviewer.

Her stories clearly indicate marital difficulties between her parents, but she is mainly concerned with being left out of her parents' affection. She is close to her mother—identifies with her—and wears same type of clothes. She fears desertion by her mother, and gives her mother gifts as reparation for hostile feelings toward her. She feels herself young, inadequate, a baby. She fantasies marrying for money. Her interests in clothes shows an effort to get love and affection. She tries to please her mother.

CASE 26: LOIS (Senior High School)

This smiling, pretty girl of sixteen (I.Q. 101, grade 10) is in the tenth grade. Teachers like her. Because of her outstanding personality, she is liked by all. She is home-room president, but does not have much ability. She does not assert or push herself too much, is neither withdrawing nor aggressive, accepts criticism, and gets along with people. She did not like J.H.S., but she likes high school. Her mother is ill with arthritis. Father owns a fleet of taxicabs. She has an older sister and an older brother. Her mother refused to see the home visitor. She nags and scolds.

There are themes of resentment at mother's restrictions. She identifies with her father. The wife nags her husband. Lois is disgusted with herself because of her resentments and hostilities; feels herself ignoble and poor. She has suicide thoughts. She seeks pleasures outside her home; wishes to be popular and liked. She makes friends and joins clubs. She and her sister are rivals—sister spies on her. She is paid for pleasure by punishment—taking away privileges. She is confused, discouraged, and disappointed. She says good things about another—keeps back the bad. She feels inadequate and wants a place in the family; wants her mother

to worry about her. She is masochistic (having illness fantasies) and wants to be wanted.

CASE 27: OLIVE (Senior High School)

This girl, age 18 (I.Q. 86, grade 12), is the youngest of six girls in a Welsh family. Two are own sisters; three are stepsisters. All work. All in the family are hardworking. Olive spends weekends doing housework and caring for a small child. She is sallow, stooped, and tight and tense in her behavior. Teachers characterize her as nervous; soreheaded; resenting criticism; liked and not liked; a leader; not a leader; a disrupting influence; having a sense of humor; reticent; afraid; not outgoing. Olive thinks her greatest faults are talkativeness and procrastination—but actually she is painfully reserved, and she told stories only with great difficulty.

She was depressed as a result of guilt over hostility to her stepmother, who shows partiality to her own daughters. She showed masochism, self-negation, suicide trends, was poor, and endured hardships. Wants to be given things—is passive. She showed deprivation sadness, curiosity about others. Attends to duty (school) vs. pleasure—is obedient and abandons pleasure. She is submissive and indulges in self-pity. She grieves over the loss of her mother and her position in the family. She renounces hostility and aggression for affronts. She feels that she should have more consideration at home, but does not want to hurt or disappoint anyone.

CASE 28: CELIA (Senior High School)

This pretty fifteen-year-old Spanish girl (I.Q. 138, grade 11) is the third of four daughters; an honor student, taking a commercial course. She is spoken well of by every teacher, is home-room president, an excellent leader, and respected. She has creative ability, plays the piano, and sings, but tends to underrate her own ability. She is hot tempered and fiery, has blue spells, and is high strung. She feels very close to her second old sister, but clashes with her oldest sister. She has a good sense of humor. Her father has a hot temper, but is easygoing with his girls. Her mother is strict.

Her stories stress resistance to mother's restrictions. They tend to show defiance toward scolding. Her heroines fight with men who disappoint them. In one story the women dominate the men but also help them. There are wishes for sex, maturity, and attractiveness. They show envy of girls with brothers and sibling rivalry. Petulance (disgust) at sex restrictions is evident. Ambition—wants to get a job and earn for herself—determination, independence, and sexual freedom are observable, as are helplessness and obedience to father. She gets depressed at restrictions. Mother angry at sex. She is sensitive to mother's wishes.

CASE 29: PANSY (Senior High School)

This girl, age eighteen (I.Q. 91, grade 12), is the middle one of three sisters—oldest twenty-one, youngest fifteen. The mother works. Teachers speak well of Pansy—a good student, but without great ability. Her mother is very critical of her. She tends to be argumentative. She wishes to be a nurse, and has worked efficiently in a hospital during the summer. She had convulsions at age thirteen. She spends much time in home. Removal of an ovarian cyst improved her health and personality. Mother describes her as irritable, critical, and sensitive to criticism. She admires her older sister, but quarrels with the younger one.

Her stories are full of contradictions. There is dissatisfaction with self—wishing to change clothes, appearance, and personality—and conflict with parents. Mother is fantasied as strict, angry, and disapproving. Guilt is evidenced over anger at mother. Reverence and worship for father are portrayed, and the wish to be out with friends. There is much rationalizing and reaction formation. Reading, not reading, being active, being plain in appearance, being attractive, being domestic, being limited socially, having many friends, and being in a girls' school all enter into her stories. Her heroines wish to have things come to them, given to them and the attention of boys. Actually she is overindulged because of illness and feels guilt for this. She struggles to be successful, and is jealous of others who get attention. She has a tendency to argue, but fears arguments lest they get her into trouble.

CASE 30: DOROTHY (Senior High School)

This seventeen-year-old girl (I.Q. 120, grade 12) is mature, attractive, vivacious, and pretty. She has a sense of humor, a quick tongue, and is sarcastic. Her mother says she is pleasant, easy-going, mature, and responsible. Her father died when Dorothy was seven. Her mother works as manager of a store. Dorothy is an only child and has responsibilities at home. She plans to be a stenographer. She wishes to own a car, a fur coat, and have a tall boy friend with money.

Stories tell of daydreams concerning the buying of a fur coat and an auto and of being asked to marry a rich man. Her stories show that she feels deprived without father—that she is angry at father for dying—but she is lonely and longing for a father. She tells of wishes for death of mother and worries about her mother (guilt). She fantasies sour grapes (that which she cannot have is not worth having), being poor and despised, and wanting food from mother. Narcissism, selfishness, ambition envy, indolence and wanting things given to her, are included in her

stories. She fantasies being fast—a night club hostess, but also wanting to be sweet and lovable. One heroine knew how to be deceitful in order to gain her way. She shows herself a conformist outwardly. Her father was affectionate.

CASE 31: NANCY (Senior High School)

This fifteen-year-old girl (I.Q. 99, grade 10) of Russian Jewish parents, is the youngest of three children—two older brothers—and the mother's favorite. A happy, normal girl of good disposition, friendly, noncritical, she gets along well with her family and has many friends. She is ingratiating with adults, tends to antagonize girls of whom she is critical and who resent her aggressive manner. She is a B student, and wishes to be a nurse. Her mother is doubtful about this; her father approves.

Her stories center around love and marriage (particularly anxiety caused by waiting) feminine masochism, wanting to be wanted, and jealousy of other girls. It is a question of sex versus study or sex versus mother. Her heroine would miss a mother, but could get along without her. She presents ambition about a career, which is a stepping stone to marriage and daydreams about intimate relations. Her stories show that she wonders whether she is lovable and wishes to confide with others. The Oedipus complex—going off with one parent and leaving the other—is evident, as are the problems of sexual maturity and the wish for and the fear of sex. Establishing a home and childbirth are also present in her stories.

CASE 32: JULIAN (Senior High School)

This boy, age 16 (I.Q. 110, grade 10), is the youngest of three boys and has always had a very happy home life. His parents believe in being generous and lenient with their children. Julian doesn't go out with girls; he is dependable, does good work in school, and is ambitious. He stutters, bites his nails, and gets embarrassed easily—doesn't like to be kidded. He makes friends, is tense and active, and finds it difficult to relax. He has a dog. He spends all his spare time at home. His mother is insistent in expressing her wishes. She fusses in the kitchen and cooks. His father who is lenient, takes his side against the mother.

His stories show a rescue fantasy—returning to mother and bringing back mother, toward whom hostility is felt. They also include father hostility—castration fear; fear of aggression because of fear of counteraggression (hence friendliness); assertion of independence of mother. He fantasies leaving school, then returning; also, leaving home; staying at school so that he won't have to be at home (escape from home). There is fear of punishment for running away and of being picked on. He tells of identification

with father in resisting mother—getting an education and of wishes to shock mother. He shows parental restriction on sex (afraid and ashamed of sex). A wish for illicit love is shown and fear of losing his dog. He is submissive in his family in order to avoid quarreling.

CASE 33: EDWIN (Senior High School)

This boy is sixteen, Jewish (I.Q. 96, grade 10). His father is ambitious. Placed in college preparatory, he failed. Transferred to technical high school, he is doing adequately. His father was disappointed and resisted the change. Edwin is unobtrusive, childish, immature, inattentive, and has a short attention span. His mother is nervous and worrisome. Edwin is obedient and helpful. He has a hobby (photography), earns his own clothes, does not go out with girls, willingly gives money to his mother, and is very considerate.

There is much father hostility in his stories, and there are secret aggression fantasies. Desire to be friendly in order to avoid hostility is shown, and inferiority is evident. He fantasizes separation from and independence of father and sharing mother with father. Punishment for possession of mother are shown and fear of a threatening female. He shows himself observant of girls. Themes of robbery (sex), dependence on mother, and masochism are in evidence. In his stories fighting is avoided because of fear of retaliation.

CASE 34: CHESTER (Senior High School)

This boy, age 17 (I.Q. 111, grade 11), is small and chubby, with a childish face and a high-pitched, squawky voice. He wants to go to Virginia Military Institute, but he is best in academic work and shows no mechanical ability. He is an only child. His mother gets much emotional satisfaction from Chester; his father is away from home much of the time. Chester speaks of himself as having high ambitions. He would like a sister.

A strong feeling of inferiority permeates his stories—he feels young and inadequate. Passivity (the innocent victim) is shown. Things happen to a boy (other boys pick on him). Discipline and authority are in evidence (foreshadowing his going to military school). There are wishes to be told (although he is boastful in actual life). Desire to find a fortune is shown. Loneliness is manifest (desire for a sister and fear of rejection by mother). There is a conflict between growing up (separation) and staying immature. Fear of college is reflected (college is mother). Fear (wish?) that father may die and that he may have to support mother is brought out. He wants

to be in good company—with superior people—to be in poor company is to be dirty and inadequate. He shows fear of mother's death and wonder and guilt over sex. There is a foster-parent fantasy.

CASE 35: FRED (Senior High School)

This sixteen-year-old boy's (I.Q. 130, grade 11) mother works in dress factory, and his sister is in training to be a teacher. Fred cooks and cleans house. He must be at home before 5 o'clock, when his father arrives. His father is strict and keeps Fred in his company. Fred wants to hug his father. He enjoys school and athletics, is in many activities, likes to be on committees, is well liked and a leader. He is affectionate with his mother, who gives him more leeway. He is always smiling. He was toilet trained very early. He does not go out with girls.

In his stories there are strong, but repressed, sex wishes and parents opposed to sex. Active in real life, an undercurrent of daydreaming is shown. Worship of girls from afar, elopement, and a feeling of guilt at separation from mother are presented. There is a contest between school (recognition—parent love) and sex. "Does not know mother." Irritation at father's strictness (feels like running away and achieving independence), death wishes toward father, guilt, and punishment are all apparent. Fear of disappointing father and homosexual feelings toward father are manifest, as are jealousy of relations between father and mother. He worries about being popular (strives for popularity in school).

CASE 36: SEYMOUR (Senior High School)

This boy, fifteen (I.Q. 112, grade 10), is of Hungarian parents. His father was forty-eight and his mother forty-two when he was born. His two sisters are ten and eleven years older. His sisters and his mother are large, pleasant, and dull. Seymour is good natured, lazy, indifferent, and phlegmatic. He does not study, but plays with gadgets. His sister says he is nervous, excitable, and quick-tempered. He loses patience easily. Examiner finds Seymour resistant, noncommittal, and disinterested. Autobiography is very practical.

His stories are fantastic, showing a strong Oedipus complex (striving with father for possession of mother, but father in control). Theme of killing father is used, followed by guilt and repentance (killing = crazy). Strong feelings for mother are displaced to sister. Mother is giver of food, but it is wrong to want mother. Fear of being eaten is described. Main theme is separation from and return to mother. Guilt and punishment for leaving mother are shown—it is also wrong to want mother. Strong sexual

conflict is apparent (jealousy of couple). There is a theme of saving women from aggression. He feels inadequate and immature, tends to day-dream, and fears the supernatural.

CASE 37: JIMMY (Senior High School)

This splendid, popular eighteen-year-old boy (I.Q. 112, grade 12) has excellent family relationships. He is liked at school by teachers and pupils. He does satisfactory work at school and would like to be writer. He is on good terms with his sister.

As brought out by his stories, he thinks much about dating, girls, and sex relations. He identifies with mother, but disagrees with mother's emphasis on money. There is a conflict between love and money (this is a conflict between father and mother—the Oedipus theme). Two character trends are shown—the good and the bad. Rage against mother and separation from mother are described—then dependence on mother and return. There is a question of favoritism in the family. He hates girl for urging him on. There is a strong Oedipus theme—contempt and hatred toward father and strong love for mother. Guilt and death for incestuous wishes and study in school a relief from anxiety are included in his stories.

CASE 38: RICHARD (Senior High School)

The parents of this fifteen-year-old boy (I.Q. 111, grade 10) separated when he was four. His father, a dancing teacher, lives in New York. His mother remarried. His stepfather has three older daughters. There is strong rivalry between him and his stepfather. He has failed in his school work. He likes to have dates with girls and writes passionate poetry. Has one brother, age twenty, with whom he scraps; the older brother tends to dominate. By a previous marriage his father had a daughter and two sons.

He wants his father and his mother together—is extremely jealous. He is suspicious of relatives of his mother and his stepfather; wants strong love relationship himself and seeks it in girl friends. He has a strong tie with his mother; wants to run away from home, but is bound to his mother. Death wishes show in jealousy against his stepfather (possibly his own father). Guilt and self-punishment are provided by dying. He fantasizes assault on girls and spying and jealousy. He thinks of himself as no good, and this is the way he does school work. His interest in girls is his attempt to work through thwarted wishes with regard to his parents. He identifies himself with girls.

CASE 39: JOHN (Senior High School)

This seventeen-year-old boy (I.Q. 116, grade 12) is from a family in a very low cultural level. He is a good student, clean-cut, co-operative, in-

terested in automobiles and auto mechanics. He takes in odd jobs and earns much money. His mother says he likes to have his own way.

He doesn't go out with girls, but he plans to get married. He fears women, whom he believes to be domineering and calculating, and prone to use men for their own purposes. He would like to break away from home and achieve independence, but he is tied to his mother. She gives him ideals. He is concerned about right and wrong. He would like to break away from restrictions but is afraid to do so. Believes in the best—that everything will turn out all right. He is afraid of injury to car—also of an accident to himself. Pleasure brings sickness and punishment. One gets ahead by co-operating. He co-operates in school because of fears of failure, which also drives him to the success motive.

CASE 40: ALBERT (Senior High School)

This seventeen-year-old boy (I.Q. 134, grade 12) has difficulty in his personal relations. His mother died when he was four and one half, and his father remarried four years ago. Albert and his sister were taken by their maternal grandparents; later he was taken by his paternal grandparents (sickly people), and he is cared for by an unmarried aunt. The grandparents cannot tolerate noise. The household is depressing—unaffectionate and undemonstrative. Albert works in his father's garage; his father is impatient and yells at him.

He is always expecting the worst. He cannot believe that others like him, so he shuns other people. He wants to be wanted and to have affection, and is repressed because afraid of temper. He is critical of others on projective basis. His worry turns to anger (against himself); likes to be independent. He fears being thought weak, dependent and is afraid of change. He identifies with father and is anxious because of rift between himself and his father. Because he feels abandoned, he wishes to be independent. His stories are pessimistic; teachers call him cheerful and enthusiastic. Reading is a substitute for relationships with others.

APPENDIX B

PERSONALITY TRAITS OF THE FORTY CASES
AS INFERRED FROM THE STORIES AND
AS OBSERVED IN REAL LIFE

<i>Narrator</i>	<i>Stories</i>	<i>In Real Life</i>
1. Wallace	Stories exaggerated, extravagant	Irresponsible, cocky, self-assured
2. Ralph	Stories wild, fantastic	Meek, mild, hesitant, talkative
3. Raymond	Stories self-critical, masochistic	Strong drive for top place, independent, compulsive
4. Jack	Themes of yearning for happiness and home life; stories realistic	In foster home. Hot tempered, difficult in school, annoying to teachers
5. Harold	Themes of death wishes, sex; stories unemotional	Sissy and effeminate
6. Roy	Themes of crime-punishment, mystery	Without initiative, quiet, lazy, polite. Dwells on accidents
7. Jerome	Themes of reform, repentance, fear of leaving home, ambition	Bully, tough. Disorderly in school
8. Roger	Themes of aggression, excitement; stories schizoid, unemotional	Feminine, mischievous, ingratiating, overprotected
9. Sam	Stories masochistic; feminine identification; happy endings	Calm, tense, worries, lazy, careless, showoff
10. Edgar	Themes of adventure, aggression, anxiety, and sex; distorted fantasy	Tough, self-assured, insolent. Fears being crazy

<i>Narrator</i>	<i>Stories</i>	<i>In Real Life</i>
11. Karl	Stories disorganized, schizoid, anxious	Queer, unco-ordinated, deceitful
12. Catherine	Stories bizarre, wild, disordered, anxious	Nervous, high strung, jumpy, temper, stubborn
13. Laura	Themes of anxiety about separation; death wishes toward mother	Inhibited, compulsive, quiet, worrier, docile
14. Viola	Stories masochistic, philosophic; attends to rare details in stories; hides feelings	Able, mature, sophisticated, a leader
15. Ada	Long, complicated stories; themes of mystery, death, and return; many doubles	Nervous, excitable, unstable, overprotected, possessed of a temper
16. Jessica	Stories buoyant, cheerful, obsessional, passive; themes of magic	Immature, indifferent, shy; work in school mediocre; shows even disposition
17. Edith	Themes of anxiety, depression, anxiety over sex, self-pity, secrecy	A leader, popular, well poised, nonaggressive; work good
18. Isabel	Themes of repressed sex, anxiety, punishment	Nervous, fearful, tense, quiet at school, noisy at home, immature
19. Stella	Stories simple, straightforward, realistic, optimistic; feminine identification; family loyalty	Dependable, conscientious; asserts leadership
20. Barbara	Stories long, expressive, emotional; easy identification; learns lesson	Tomboyish, striving; also quiet, demure, mean, ugly
21. Natalie	Stories schizoid, short, emotional; sex wishes and fears of being homeless	Quiet, withdrawn; lacking in initiative; has domineering mother
22. Mabel	Themes of wishing to be vulgar; punishment for romance	Sweet, popular, co-operative; father strict

<i>Narrator</i>	<i>Stories</i>	<i>In Real Life</i>
23. Mae	Cinderella, twins, leaving parents, success themes	Pleasant, unsophisticated, unassuming, sentimental
24. Margaret	Themes of conflict between rebellion and authority; strong Oedipus theme	Charming, popular, boyish; father has ambitions for her
25. Julia	Revelation of marital difficulties of parents; identification with mother; fear of being deserted	Good dresser, spoiled, undisciplined, boy crazy; reserved with interviewer
26. Lois	Stories masochistic, confused, discouraged, disappointed	Smiling, pretty, popular; gets along with people
27. Olive	Stories characterized by doubt and indecision; told with difficulty; curious about others; depressed, masochistic, submissive	Nervous, reserved, hard working; a disrupting influence; resentful of criticism
28. Celia	Stories matter-of-fact; wants to be free, independent; depressed at restrictions	Leader, respected, high strung; afflicted with blue spells; good sense of humor
29. Pansy	Contradictions in stories; dissatisfaction with self (conflict with parents); wishes to have everything come to her	Well spoken of by teachers; no great ability; irritable, critical, sensitive to criticism
30. Dorothy	Express many wishes; hungers for father; narcissistic, wants thing given her	Mature, vivacious, attractive, easygoing, responsible; quick tongue
31. Nancy	Themes of love and marriage; masochistic (wants to be wanted); Oedipus theme; wish and fear of sex	Normal, happy, friendly, ingratiating with adults and critical of girls

<i>Narrator</i>	<i>Stories</i>	<i>In Real Life</i>
32. Julian	Strong punishment fears (afraid and ashamed of sex, wish for sex); themes of hostility to mother and rescue	Dependable, tense; good worker in school; ambitious; neurotic traits; makes friends; mother domineering; father supportive
33. Edwin	Stories masochistic; Oedipus theme; castration fears; father hostility	Childish, inattentive, immature; poor worker in school; father ambitious for him
34. Chester	Themes of inferiority, passivity; an innocent victim; wanting discipline, authority; conflict between growing up and separation	Childish, immature shows high ambition; gives mother emotional satisfaction
35. Fred	Strong, but repressed, sex; Oedipus theme; homosexual feelings toward father; worries about being popular	Cooks and cleans house; popular in school; a leader
36. Seymour	Fantastic stories; Oedipus theme; sexual conflict	Good-natured, phlegmatic, dull, lazy; does not study; at home, nervous, excitable, quick-tempered
37. Jimmy	Themes of dating girls, sex; Oedipus theme; long stories; love and hate toward mother	Splendid, popular, good family relationships, good work at school
38. Richard	Jealousy, suspicion (broke down, and Dr. Wexler had to counsel him); two sets of stories; strong tie to mother	Failure in school; fond of girls; strong inner conflicts
39. John	Stories short; conflict with mother; fixation and sex drives; fear of domination by women	From low cultural level; good student, co-operative, mechanically minded, independent, and resourceful

<i>Narrator</i>	<i>Stories</i>	<i>In Real Life</i>
40. Albert	Stories pessimistic, anxious; wanting affection	Difficulty in personal relationships; cheerful, enthusiastic; depressing household

APPENDIX C

THEME HEADINGS

In this tabulation are given the main themes used in this study with the component themes or headings which contributed to each main theme. The total frequency in each main theme was the sum of the frequencies of all the component themes.

The sorting and classification of themes was mainly the work of Miss Kathryn Albert. Exception may be taken to many of the decisions, but in each case there was a good reason for grouping chosen.

TABLE 16
THEME HEADINGS

MAIN THEME	SUBSIDIARY THEME	SUBJECTS			STORIES		
		<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>
Family relationships		20	20	40	423	450	873
	Mother	20	20	40	193	208	401
	Father	19	19	38	166	142	308
	Family	9	15	24	44	100	144
	Parents	12	10	22	57	64	121
	Son	14	12	26	60	55	115
	Husband	12	7	19	62	38	100
	Children	5	13	18	16	69	85
	Home	8	5	13	51	29	80
	Wife	8	9	17	35	39	74
	Sister	7	6	13	30	24	54
	Daughter	6	5	11	22	24	46
	Brother	7	6	13	26	25	51
	Adoption	2	2	4	9	7	16
	Twin	..	2	2	..	13	13
	Kids	1	..	1	6	..	6
	Uncle	..	1	1	..	5	5
	Aunt	1	1	2	3	5	8
Aggression		20	20	40	493	354	847
	Death	16	16	32	164	108	272
	Crime	16	5	21	185	24	209
	Criminal; murderer	13	5	18	118	35	153
	Scolding; nagging; dis-approval; forbidding	9	11	20	65	71	136
	Violent death	10	3	13	82	17	99
	Fight; argument; conflict	10	6	16	50	28	78

TABLE 16 (Continued)

MAIN THEME	SUBSIDIARY THEME	SUBJECTS			STORIES		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
	Anger; sadness; rage	10	8	18	40	34	74
	Stealing; robbery	9	5	14	49	18	67
	Disobedience; rebellion	2	6	8	9	33	42
	Trick; joke; plot	5	2	7	26	16	42
	Coercion	1	4	5	4	35	39
	Resistance	1	3	4	8	26	34
	Bullying	2	2	4	10	24	34
	Gun; knife	5	2	7	22	9	31
	Accusation; suspicion	2	3	5	8	16	24
	Quarrel	2	3	5	10	14	24
	War; bombing; the enemy	4	1	5	15	4	19
	Threats	1	3	4	4	15	19
	Aggressive	2	1	3	12	4	16
	Hatred	3	..	3	16	..	16
	Faults; blame	3	..	3	16	..	16
	Persuasion	2	2	4	8	6	14
	Ridicule; contempt	1	1	2	5	7	12
	Resentment	1	1	2	7	4	11
	Toughness	2	..	2	9	..	9
	Drastic action	1	..	1	9	..	9
	Grudge	..	2	2	..	7	7
	Forcible entrance	1	..	1	6	..	6
	Hostility	..	1	1	..	4	4
	Outwitting another	1	..	1	3	..	3
	One person having power over another	..	1	1	..	3	3
Style		17	11	28	344	162	506
	Specific expressions	8	..	8	107	..	107
	Specific (proper) names	3	1	4	85	19	104
	Detailed descriptions	..	6	6	..	77	77
	Contrast in types	5	3	8	52	17	69
	Exaggeration	6	..	6	64	..	64
	Incongruity	2	..	2	33	..	33
	"Perhaps"; "probably"	..	2	2	..	30	30
	Side remarks	2	..	2	25	..	25
	"That's all"	1	..	1	23	..	23
	Sophistication	1	..	1	21	..	21
	Toughness; slang expressions	2	..	2	18	..	18
	Literary characterizations	1	..	1	16	..	16
	Stereotypes; maxims	..	2	2	..	16	16
	Preliminary remarks	1	..	1	15	..	15
	Expression through negatives	..	1	1	..	14	14
	Rumination	..	1	1	..	9	9
	"May be"; "might be"	..	1	1	..	9	9
	Ungrammatical	1	..	1	8	..	8
	"From appearance"	..	1	1	..	7	7
	"Interesting"	..	1	1	..	6	6

TABLE 16 (Continued)

MAIN THEME	SUBSIDIARY THEME	SUBJECTS			STORIES		
		<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>
Economic concern	General attitude	..	1	1	..	5	5
	Repetition	1	..	1	5	..	5
	"Attitude seems to be"	..	1	1	..	5	5
		20	13	33	263	165	428
	Money	17	15	32	152	98	250
	Jobs; work; get; have; hold; lose	17	12	29	102	84	186
	Wealthy; rich	11	4	15	48	32	80
	Poor	9	8	17	40	38	78
	Jewels; hidden treasure	3	..	3	14	..	14
	Inheritance; legacy	1	2	3	3	10	13
Punishment	Enough money to buy things	..	2	2	..	8	8
	Debt; failure; bankruptcy	2	..	2	7	..	7
	Safety; bank; cash register	2	..	2	6	..	6
		18	15	33	272	106	378
	Police	17	9	26	132	61	193
	Punishment	10	5	15	99	26	125
	Capture; apprehension	10	4	14	65	16	81
	Prison; jail; reformatory	11	3	14	66	12	78
	Innocence; false accusation	5	1	6	27	6	33
	Arrest	6	..	6	25	..	25
Eroticism	Sentence	5	..	5	22	..	22
	Information given to authorities	1	..	1	12	..	12
	Ambush	2	..	2	10	..	10
	Trial; court	1	1	2	4	4	8
	Electric chair	2	..	2	8	..	8
	Disciplinary action	..	1	1	..	4	4
		16	19	35	199	153	352
	Boy-girl situations	12	8	20	91	50	141
	Friends; making friends	3	10	13	20	56	76
	Love; falling in love	7	1	8	49	3	52
Separation; rejection	Homosexuality; illegal relations	2	1	3	21	5	26
	Tenderness of feeling	..	1	1	..	7	7
		18	14	32	162	159	321
	City; distant places; trips	4	6	10	25	44	69
	Running away from home	9	4	13	41	23	64
	Loneliness	3	7	10	18	39	57
	Separation	2	4	6	13	34	47
	Rejection	1	4	5	6	28	34
	Reunion	2	2	4	14	8	22

TABLE 16 (Continued)

MAIN THEME	SUBSIDIARY THEME	SUBJECTS			STORIES		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Altruism	Being lost; disappearing	2	1	3	12	8	20
	Returning	3	1	4	13	6	19
	Being away from home; being missed	1	2	3	6	13	19
	Desertion	4	..	4	18	..	18
	Love relation broken	3	..	3	18	..	18
	Lack of one or both parents	..	1	1	..	7	7
		14	14	28	162	153	315
	Helping someone else	2	7	9	16	87	103
	Heroic; heroic situation	8	3	11	74	12	86
	Rescue; being saved	6	3	9	52	26	78
	Love and service to parents	5	4	9	25	19	44
	Kindliness; consideration	4	2	6	19	10	29
	Forgiveness	1	3	4	5	13	18
Ending	Gifts	1	2	3	7	6	13
	Generosity; giving to others	..	2	2	..	12	12
	Helping to reform someone	..	2	2	..	11	11
	Defending another person	..	1	1	..	9	9
		10	7	17	164	118	282
	Positive; happiness; "ok"	8	6	14	143	79	222
	Negativity; fatality, tragedy	1	3	4	3	23	26
	Status quo	..	1	1	..	11	11
	Acceptation of lower standards	1	..	1	11	..	11
	Dramatic conclusion	..	1	1	..	9	9
	Opposite ending to same story	1	..	1	5	..	5
	Ant climax	1	..	1	3	..	3
		12	6	18	219	60	279
Excitement	Excitement; suspense	4	5	9	64	53	117
	Adventure	4	..	4	93	..	93
	Danger; thrill	6	1	7	67	4	71
	Sharp turn to story	1	..	1	20	..	20
	Dramatic style	1	1	2	10	8	18
		14	14	28	123	155	278
Anxiety	Anxiety; worry	11	10	21	71	112	183
	Fear; dread; alarm	8	9	17	50	51	101
	Lack of confidence	1	1	2	6	7	13
	Timidity; nervousness	..	2	2	..	10	10
	Shock	1	..	1	3	..	3

TABLE 16 (Continued)

MAIN THEME	SUBSIDIARY THEME	SUBJECTS			STORIES		
		<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>
Success; ambition		12	13	25	131	107	238
	Success	9	9	18	94	67	161
	Ambition	3	7	10	25	44	69
	Reward	5	1	6	22	4	26
	Fame	2	..	2	17	..	17
Repentance, reform		14	11	25	154	80	234
	Reform	9	7	16	85	52	137
	Lesson learned	7	6	13	67	31	98
	Repentance; remorse	7	3	10	69	10	79
Accident; illness		14	14	28	147	85	232
	Accident	12	7	19	103	29	132
	Illness; sickness	6	7	13	26	26	52
	Doctors; nurses; hospitals	4	5	9	18	23	41
	Injury; hurt	3	5	8	14	25	39
	Being hit	2	1	3	15	5	20
	Crash; collision	3	..	3	13	..	13
		9	7	16	111	107	218
Thinking; decision	Wondering; thinking; musing	3	6	9	38	66	104
	Deciding	5	5	10	42	30	72
	Realization	1	3	4	20	25	45
	Indecision	1	1	2	8	7	15
	Confusion	1	..	1	8	..	8
		15	13	28	107	107	214
School	School	13	8	21	99	65	164
	Failure	..	3	3	..	15	15
	Finishing school; education	1	1	2	4	10	14
	Lessons; homework	..	2	2	..	12	12
	Studies	2	1	3	7	3	10
	Reading	1	1	2	3	5	8
	Teaching	..	2	2	..	7	7
	Dislike of school	1	1	2	3	3	6
	Quitting school	2	..	2	6	..	6
	Graduation	..	1	1	..	3	3
	One person paying for another's schooling	..	1	1	..	3	3
	Play activity	..	1	1	..	3	3

TABLE 16 (Continued)

MAIN THEME	SUBSIDIARY THEME	SUBJECTS			STORIES		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Positive emotion		11	12	23	78	105	183
	Happiness	9	7	16	62	37	99
	Relief	.	5	5	.	39	39
	Having fun; good times	2	2	4	7	8	15
	Pleasure	1	1	2	3	11	14
	Looking on the bright side	..	2	2	..	12	12
	Gladness; rejoicing	2	1	3	8	3	11
	Relaxation	..	2	2	..	8	8
Escape		11	5	16	103	29	132
	Escape	9	3	12	76	13	89
	Recovery; cure	4	2	6	19	16	35
	Release	2	..	2	12	..	12
Social		9	12	21	69	59	128
	Party; dance	8	8	16	43	35	78
	Popularity; unpopularity	2	5	7	16	25	41
	Gangster	3	..	3	11	..	11
Morality; goodness		8	7	15	56	52	108
	Goodness; rightness	5	4	9	26	22	48
	Conformity	3	2	5	28	19	47
	Moral standards	1	2	3	4	10	14
	Conscientiousness	..	1	1	..	3	3
Strangeness, unusual- ness		8	4	12	63	30	93
	Mystery	4	2	6	28	16	44
	Strangeness; weirdness; queerness	4	2	6	24	19	43
	Surprise	4	1	5	33	3	36
Place of residence		8	9	17	51	42	93
	Country; farm; small town	5	6	11	24	22	46
	House	3	3	6	17	14	31
	Permanence	1	1	2	6	6	12
	Neighborhood	2	..	2	9	..	9
Concealment		5	5	10	42	46	88
	Hiding; concealment	4	3	7	23	20	43
	Search	2	2	4	13	8	21
	Secret; hidden identity	..	1	1	..	19	19
	Discovery	1	1	2	11	8	19
	Mistaken identity	1	1	2	3	9	12
	Stealth	1	..	1	5	..	5

TABLE 16 (Continued)

MAIN THEME	SUBSIDIARY THEME	SUBJECTS			STORIES		
		<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>
Badness, wrong		7	3	10	54	17	71
	Selfishness; heedlessness	3	2	5	24	10	34
	Bad companions	4	..	4	20	..	20
	Wrong	2	2	4	9	11	20
	Evil overcome	1	..	1	7	..	7
Appearance		3	10	13	13	52	65
	Dress; personal appearance	2	8	10	8	38	46
	Attractiveness; smartness; good-looking	2	6	8	7	22	29
Guilt, conscience		3	7	10	19	39	58
Yearning; wanting		3	4	7	19	36	55
Parental attitudes		7	3	10	33	22	55
	Advice; counsel	7	3	10	33	21	54
	Skepticism	..	1	1	..	3	3
Jealousy, envy, rivalry		5	8	13	24	29	53
Fatigue, rest		3	6	9	23	26	49
	Night; darkness	2	2	4	12	12	24
	Going to sleep; sleep	1	1	2	7	4	11
	Waking up	2	..	2	11	..	11
	Fatigue; boredom	..	3	3	..	10	10
		5	5	10	23	23	46
Age		2	3	5	8	15	23
	Old age; elderliness	2	..	2	12	..	12
	Baby; children	1	2	3	3	8	11
Entertainment		3	4	7	23	18	41
	Activities; sport	2	3	5	11	12	23
	Movies; drama; play	1	1	2	12	6	18
Excuse; alibi; apology		2	1	3	9	3	12

APPENDIX D

FREQUENCY OF THEMES BY PICTURE

*The Themes with Greatest Positive Deviation from
Independence Values for Each Picture*

Numbers in parentheses indicate the differ-
ences between actual and chance frequency

<i>Picture Number</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Picture Number</i>	<i>Theme</i>
1	Anxiety (+7); separation (+5); accident (+4)		tion (+3); happiness (+3)
2	Family relationships (+9); ending (+4); accident (+3)	11	Aggression (+11); accident (+5); family relationships (+4); altruism (+4)
3	School (+6); love (+5); socialness (+5); jealousy (+5)	12	Family relationships (+15); accident (+5); happiness (+5)
4	Aggression (+7); punishment (+7); economic concern (+3)	13	Punishment (+17); accident (+13); escape (+6)
5	Love (+13); socialness (+7); jealousy (+5)	14	Aggression (+7); love (+4); family relationships (+3); altruism (+3)
6	Love (+9); socialness (+8); style (+4)	15	Aggression (+6); school (+6); reform (+5); parental attitude (+5)
7	Family relationships (+8); aggression (+2); style (+2); happiness (+2); entertainment (+2)	16	Economic concern (+10); success (+4); altruism (+3); goodness (+3)
8	Love (+13); style (+4); economic concern (+3); excitement (+3)	17	Family relationships (+7); goodness (+7); school (+6)
9	Punishment (+14); aggression (+5); reform (+4)	18	Separation (+14); eco-
10	Love (+4); fatigue (+4); aggression (+3); separa-		

<i>Picture Number</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Picture Number</i>	<i>Theme</i>
	conomic concern (+8); success (+3); place of residence (+5)		(+6); love (+4)
19	Aggression (+13); reform (+5); punishment (+4); badness (+4)	30	Depression (+7); aggression (+5); separation (+3); anxiety (+3)
20	Economic concern (+11); punishment (+4); altruism (+4)	31	Love (+5); altruism (+5); family relationships (+3)
21	Aggression (+7); punishment (+5); altruism (+4)	32	Economic concern (+9); family relationships (+6); happiness (+3); strangeness (+3)
22	Depression (+6); economic concern (+5); separation (+3); wanting (+3); age (+3)	33	Love (+7); personal appearance (+6); socialness (+5); jealousy (+5)
23	Economic concern (+7); aggression (+4); excitement (+2); place of residence (+2); wanting (+2)	34	School (+14); anxiety (+8); success (+4)
24	Place of residence (+6); economic concern (+5); separation (+4)	35	Accident (+12); altruism (+3); escape (+3); anxiety (+3)
25	Success (+5); love (+4); separation (+3); socialness (+3); concealment (+3)	36	Punishment (+7); anxiety (+4); socialness (+4); strangeness (+4)
26	Family relationships (+8); strangeness (+5); aggression (+4); anxiety (+4)	37	Altruism (+6); anxiety (+6); separation (+5)
27	Punishment (+11); aggression (+7); depression (+4)	38	Socialness (+4); strangeness (+4); reform (+3); personal appearance (+3)
28	School (+11); thinking (+6); wanting (+3)	39	Anxiety (+6); escape (+5); socialness (+5); strangeness (+5)
29	Family relationships (+6); personal appearance	40	Place of residence (+5); family relationships (+4); happiness (+4)
		41	Jealousy (+9); family relationships (+8); love (+5)
		42	Anxiety (+7); school (+7); economic concern (+5)

*The Themes with Greatest Negative Deviation from
Independence Values for Each Picture*

Numbers in parentheses indicate the differences between actual and chance frequency

<i>Picture Number</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Picture Number</i>	<i>Theme</i>
1	Punishment (-7); aggression (-6); reform (-2); school (-2); goodness (-2); place of residence (-2)		(-3); reform (-3); happiness (-3); escape (-3)
2	Separation (-3); excitement (-3); school (-3)	12	Love (-5); punishment (-4); reform (-4); thinking (-4)
3	Punishment (-6); family relationships (-5); aggression (-5)	13	Thinking (-5); school (-4); anxiety (-4)
4	Accident (-5); school (-4); success (-3)	14	Punishment (-6); economics (-5); accident (-4); school (-4)
5	Family relationships (-13); aggression (-9); economic concern (-5)	15	Love (-7); style (-6); anxiety (-6)
6	Aggression (-5); economic concern (-5); punishment (-5)	16	Aggression (-5); love (-5); punishment (-3); happiness (-3)
7	Anxiety (-4); love (-3); reform (-3)	17	Punishment (-8); separation (-4); thinking (-4)
8	Aggression (-4); school (-4); punishment (-3); socialness (-3)	18	Aggression (-9); punishment (-6); style (-6)
9	Family relationships (-9); love (-5); school (-5)	19	Depression (-4); happiness (-4); family relationships (-3); separation (-3); accident (-3); school (-3)
10	School (-4); anxiety (-3); socialness (-3)	20	Thinking (-6); love (-6); anxiety (-4)
11	Economic concern (-4); school (-4); ending	21	Family relationships (-8); happiness (-4); love (-4)

<i>Picture Number</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Picture Number</i>	<i>Theme</i>
22	Love (-7); aggression (-3); family relationships (-2); happiness (-2); escape (-2); socialness (-2)	33	Punishment (-4); family relationships (-3); economic concern (-3); separation (-3)
23	Anxiety (-4); love (-3); socialness (-2); appearance (-2)	34	Family relationships (-10); aggression (-9); love (-7)
24	Aggression (-5); love (-4); depression (-3); escape (-3)	35	Punishment (-5); economic concern (-4); love (-4)
25	Depression (-4); accident (-4); family relationships (-2); punishment (-2); badness (-2)	36	Style (-4); family relationships (-3); reform (-3); school (-3)
26	Love (-4); thinking (-3); happiness (-3)	37	Punishment (-3); love (-3); aggression (-2); style (-2); depression (-2); socialness (-2); goodness (-2); badness (-2); personal appearance (-2)
27	Love (-7); separation (-6); economic concern (-3); happiness (-3)	38	Family relationships (-6); economic concern (-6); accident (-5)
28	Aggression (-6); family relationships (-3); punishment (-3); altruism (-3); anxiety (-3); accident (-3)	39	Depression (-7); separation (-4); success (-4); reform (-4)
29	Aggression (-7); economic concern (-4); punishment (-3); anxiety (-3); school (-3)	40	Aggression (-4); punishment (-3); thinking (-2); socialness (-2); strangeness (-2); badness (-2)
30	Altruism (-7); family relationships (-5); school (-3)	41	Punishment (-6); economic concern (-5); anxiety (-4)
31	Punishment (-3); anxiety (-3); socialness (-3)	42	Reform (-4); economic concern (-3); altruism (-3)
32	Ending (-4); accident (-3); thinking (-3)		

*The Pictures Which Showed the Highest Positive Deviation from
Independence Values for Each Theme*

Numbers in parentheses indicate the differences between actual and independence chance frequency

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Picture Number</i>
Family relationships	12(+15); 2(+9); 7(+8); 26(+8); 41(+8)
Aggression	19(+13); 11(+11); 4(+7); 14(+7); 21(+7); 27(+7)
Style	5(+4); 6(+4); 8(+4)
Economic concern	20(+11); 16(+10); 32(+9)
Punishment	13(+17); 9(+14); 4(+7); 36(+7)
Love	5(+13); 8(+13); 6(+9)
Depression	30(+7); 22(+6); 27(+4)
Separation	18(+14); 1(+5); 37(+5)
Altruism	37(+6); 31(+5); 11(+4); 17(+4); 20(+4); 21(+4)
Ending	2(+4); 9(+3); 29(+3)
Excitement	1(+3); 8(+3); 5(+2); 10(+2); 20(+2); 23 (+2); 27(+2)
Anxiety	34(+8); 1(+7); 42(+7)
Success	17(+5); 18(+5); 25(+5)
Reform	15(+5); 19(+5); 9(+4); 17(+4)
Accident	13(+13); 35(+12); 11(+5); 12(+5)
Thinking; deciding	28(+6); 18(+4); 24(+4); 34(+4)
School	34(+14); 28(+11); 42(+7)
Happiness	12(+5); 40(+4); 1(+3); 10(+3); 24(+3); 32 (+3)
Escape	13(+6); 39(+5); 6(+3); 34(+3); 35(+3)
Socialness	6(+8); 5(+7); 33(+5); 39(+5)
Goodness	17(+7); 16(+3); 34(+3)
Strangeness	26(+5); 39(+5); 38(+4)
Place of residence	24(+6); 18(+5); 40(+5)
Concealment	25(+3); 26(+3); 4(+2); 10(+2); 36(+2); 42 (+2)
Badness	15(+9); 19(+4); 9(+2); 13(+2); 33(+2)
Appearance	29(+6); 33(+6); 41(+4)

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Picture Number</i>
Guilt	26(+2); 39(+2); 40(+2)
Wanting; yearning	3(+3); 22(+3); 24(+3); 28(+3)
Parental attitudes	15(+5); 17(+3); 29(+3)
Jealousy	41(+9); 3(+5); 5(+5); 33(+5)
Fatigue	10(+4); 39(+4); 24(+3)
Age	22(+3)
Excuses	15(+2)

The Pictures Which Showed the Highest Negative Deviation from Independence Values for Each Theme

Numbers in parentheses indicate the differences between actual and independence chance frequency

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Picture Number</i>
Family relationships	34(-10); 9(-9); 21(-8)
Aggression	25(-10); 5(-9); 34(-9)
Style	15(-6); 18(-6); 36(-4)
Economic concern	13(-7); 38(-6); 6(-5); 14(-5); 41(-5)
Punishment	17(-8); 1(-7); 3(-6); 14(-6); 18(-6); 41(-6)
Love	15(-7); 22(-7); 27(-7); 34(-7)
Depression	39(-7); 19(-4); 25(-4)
Separation	13(-6); 27(-6); 15(-4); 17(-4); 39(-4)
Altruism	5(-4); 6(-4); 28(-3); 34(-3); 42(-3)
Ending	32(-4); 38(-3); 11(-3)
Excitement	2(-3); 3(-3); 17(-3)
Anxiety	15(-6); 3(-4); 7(-4); 13(-4); 20(-4); 23(-4); 41(-4)
Success	26(-5); 9(-4); 39(-4)
Reform	12(-4); 42(-4); 39(-4)
Accident	4(-5); 38(-5); 14(-4); 25(-4)
Thinking	20(-6); 13(-5); 12(-4); 17(-4)
School	9(-5); 4(-4); 8(-4); 10(-4); 11(-4); 13(-4); 14(-4)
Happiness	9(-4); 19(-4); 21(-4)
Escape	5(-3); 11(-3); 24(-3)

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Picture Number</i>
Socialness	9(-4); 8(-3); 10(-3); 12(-3); 18(-3); 20(-3); 31(-3)
Goodness	1(-2); 2(-2); 4(-2); 6(-2); 21(-2); 28(-2); 29(-2); 30(-2); 31(-2); 35(-2); 36(-2); 37(-2); 39(-2); 42(-2)
Strangeness	15(-3); 3(-2); 5(-2); 18(-2); 24(-2); 31(-2); 40(-2)
Place of residence	1(-2); 3(-2); 5(-2); 6(-2); 8(-2); 11(-2); 15(-2); 30(-2); 31(-2); 33(-2)
Concealment	6(-2); 12(-2); 19(-2); 21(-2); 33(-2)
Badness	8(-2); 12(-2); 25(-2); 35(-2); 37(-2); 40(-2); 42(-2)
Personal appearance	18(-2); 19(-2); 20(-2); 23(-2); 26(-2); 37(-2); 39(-2); 42(-2)
Guilt	15(-2); 42(-2)
Wanting; yearning	38(-2); 39(-2)

APPENDIX E

CORRELATION TABLES

TABLE 17

CORRELATION OF FANTASY THEMES WITH ADJUSTMENT (1)
AND TOTAL TEACHER RATINGS (33)

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Correlation with Adjustment (1)</i>	<i>Correlation with Total Teacher Ratings (33)</i>
2 Family	-.16	-.09
3 Mother	-.21	-.20
4 Aggression	.00	-.05
5 Death	+.05	.00
6 Economic concern	-.20	-.27
7 Money	-.23	-.17
8 Punishment	.00	-.04
9 Police	-.11	-.13
10 Separation	-.20	-.21
11 Love	+.07	+.01
12 Style	-.02	-.03
13 Anxiety	+.23	+.12
14 Altruism	-.13	+.05
15 Depression	+.11	+.10
16 Success	+.12	+.07
17 School	-.07	-.10
18 Happiness	+.15	+.10
19 Repentance	-.23	-.29
20 Accidents-illness	.00	-.08
21 Socialness	+.38	+.42
22 Ending	-.19	-.11
23 Goodness	+.11	-.05
24 Badness	+.15	.00
25 Guilt	-.13	-.13
26 Excitement	+.04	-.04

TABLE 18
INTERCORRELATION OF FANTASY THEMES

INTERCORRELATION OF FANTASY THEMES

[illegible]

TABLE 18 (Continued)

[illegible]

TABLE 19
CORRELATION OF THEMES

CORRELATION OF FANTASY THEMES (2-26) WITH NUMBER OF THEMES (27)
TEACHER RATINGS (28-33)

	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
<i>Fantasy Themes</i>	<i>Total Themes</i>	<i>Co-operative-Aggressive</i>	<i>Stable-Unstable</i>	<i>Realistic-Unrealistic</i>	<i>Happy-Unhappy</i>	<i>Secure-Fearful</i>	<i>Total Rating</i>
2 Family	+.41	-.18	-.21	-.05	+.11	+.06	-.09
3 Mother	+.27	-.15	-.24	-.09	-.19	-.04	-.20
4 Aggression	+.60	-.10	+.06	-.10	+.05	+.09	-.05
5 Death	+.38	+.12	+.08	-.14	-.15	+.15	.00
6 Economic concern	+.69	-.21	-.16	-.39	-.19	-.05	-.27
7 Money	+.63	-.09	-.22	-.34	.00	+.03	-.17
8 Punishment	+.49	-.08	-.03	-.22	+.03	+.16	-.04
9 Police	+.53	-.11	-.14	-.30	+.04	+.14	-.13
10 Separation	+.28	-.26	-.24	-.24	-.07	-.12	-.21
11 Love	+.27	+.05	-.09	+.07	-.13	+.14	+.01
12 Style	+.24	+.06	-.09	+.01	+.05	+.08	-.03
13 Anxiety	-.19	+.07	+.03	+.28	+.07	+.03	+.12
14 Altruism	+.41	-.09	+.23	-.18	+.10	-.06	+.05
15 Depression	+.04	+.26	-.02	+.11	+.09	+.07	+.10
16 Success	+.48	+.02	+.05	.00	-.02	+.15	+.07
17 School	+.37	-.14	-.03	+.03	-.07	-.07	-.10
18 Happiness	+.15	+.15	+.07	-.02	-.12	+.08	+.10
19 Repentance	+.54	-.45	-.18	-.16	-.04	+.05	-.29
20 Accident	+.55	-.12	-.07	-.19	+.07	+.17	-.08
21 Socialness	-.13	+.25	+.40	+.46	+.23	+.08	+.42
22 Ending	+.21	-.18	-.05	-.25	+.21	-.06	-.11
23 Goodness	+.11	-.08	-.03	+.10	-.13	-.03	-.05
24 Badness	+.08	.00	-.04	+.11	-.07	-.15	.00
25 Guilt	+.35	-.25	-.04	+.01	-.01	-.20	-.13
26 Excitement	+.49	-.08	+.03	-.10	+.20	+.12	-.04

TABLE 19 (Continued)

CORRELATIONS OF SHEVIAKOV-FRIEDBERG QUESTIONNAIRE SCORES (34-38)
WITH FANTASY THEMES (2-26)

	34	34	36	37	38	39	40
<i>Fantasy Themes</i>	<i>Aggression</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Authority</i>	<i>Identification</i>	<i>Opposite Sex</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>
2 Family	+.20	+.14	+.25	-.02	+.04	+.02	+.10
3 Mother	+.08	-.09	-.06	+.04	.00	+.17	+.04
4 Aggression	+.27	-.13	+.05	-.17	-.11	+.20	-.44
5 Death	+.23	-.21	+.01	-.11	-.04	-.09	-.24
6 Economic concern	+.26	-.02	+.18	-.04	-.16	-.12	-.34
7 Money	+.43	-.01	+.26	+.11	-.07	-.12	-.28
8 Punishment	+.26	+.06	+.21	+.09	-.01	-.12	-.54
9 Police	+.29	+.05	+.23	-.01	+.01	-.19	-.36
10 Separation	+.09	-.16	-.03	+.02	+.01	+.01	+.04
11 Love	+.26	+.31	+.20	+.21	+.29	+.05	-.22
12 Style	+.24	-.04	+.02	+.01	-.14	+.06	-.36
13 Anxiety	-.09	-.35	-.34	-.10	-.20	+.48	+.18
14 Altruism	-.05	+.15	+.22	+.02	-.05	-.21	-.04
15 Depression	+.08	+.02	+.01	+.30	+.18	+.14	-.12
16 Success	+.14	+.06	+.15	+.06	-.08	+.05	-.14
17 School	+.17	-.23	-.07	-.10	-.20	+.37	-.11
18 Happiness	-.22	-.02	-.20	-.13	-.10	-.07	-.10
19 Repentance	+.07	+.11	+.32	-.12	-.05	+.16	-.24
20 Accident	+.46	+.16	+.39	+.24	+.17	-.14	-.26
21 Socialness	-.21	-.13	-.27	-.21	-.17	+.40	+.15
22 Ending	+.16	+.27	+.27	+.17	+.11	-.47	-.12
23 Goodness	-.08	.00	-.11	-.02	+.02	+.29	-.05
24 Badness	-.08	+.04	-.12	+.17	-.04	+.35	-.23
25 Guilt	-.04	+.04	.00	+.01	+.15	+.19	+.23
26 Excitement	+.43	+.09	+.44	+.11	-.04	-.22	-.40

TABLE 20

INTERCORRELATIONS OF TEACHER RATINGS

<i>Teacher Ratings</i>		<i>Stable-Unstable</i>	<i>Realistic-Unrealistic</i>	<i>Happy-Unhappy</i>	<i>Secure-Fearful</i>	<i>Total Rating</i>
28	Co-operative-aggressive	+ .67	+ .67	+ .48	+ .38	+ .87
29	Stable-unstable	...	+ .57	+ .48	+ .15	+ .80
30	Realistic-unrealistic	...	...	+ .64	+ .48	+ .85
31	Happy-unhappy	...	...	...	+ .50	+ .72
32	Secure-fearful	...	...	...	...	+ .52

TABLE 21

INTERCORRELATIONS OF THE SHEVIAKOV-FRIEDBERG QUESTIONNAIRE

		35	36	37	38	39	40
		<i>Family</i>	<i>Authority</i>	<i>Identification</i>	<i>Opposite Sex</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>
34	Aggression	-.01	+ .50	+ .33	+ .08	-.05	-.34
35	Family	...	+ .61	+ .37	+ .75	-.26	+ .32
36	Authority	...	...	+ .38	+ .47	-.24	-.08
37	Identification	...	...	...	+ .50	-.18	-.06
38	Opposite sex	...	...	...	...	-.28	+ .42
39	Age	...	...	...	...	...	-.08

TABLE 22

CORRELATIONS OF ADJUSTMENT WITH SCORES IN THE SHEVIAKOV-FRIEDBERG QUESTIONNAIRE

<i>Items Correlated</i>	<i>Coefficient of Correlation</i>
† Adjustment—aggression	+ .43
† Adjustment—family	+ .09
† Adjustment—authority	+ .44
† Adjustment—identification	+ .11
† Adjustment—opposite sex	-.04

TABLE 23

CORRELATION OF SHEVIAKOV-FRIEDBERG QUESTIONNAIRE SCORES WITH TEACHER RATINGS OF BEHAVIOR

		SHEVIAKOV-FRIEDBERG SCORES						
		34	35	36	37	38	39	40
<i>Teacher Ratings</i>		<i>Aggression</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Authority</i>	<i>Identification</i>	<i>Opposite Sex</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>
28	Co-operative-aggressive	-.31	+ .14	-.14	.00	+ .09	-.03	+ .32
29	Stable-unstable	-.34	+ .23	+ .03	-.13	+ .09	-.15	+ .36
30	Realistic-unrealistic	-.31	+ .25	-.03	-.19	+ .17	+ .25	+ .44
31	Happy-unhappy	-.01	+ .35	+ .25	-.14	+ .02	+ .01	+ .24
32	Secure-fearful	+ .21	+ .16	+ .28	-.17	+ .02	+ .15	-.12
33	Total rating	-.28	+ .28	+ .03	-.12	+ .12	+ .03	+ .40

TABLE 24

CORRELATIONS INVOLVING WEXLER FACTORS RELATING TO AGGRESSION

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SYMONDS AGGRESSION AND VARIOUS WEXLER FACTORS

	<i>Aggression (Symonds)</i>	<i>Adjustment</i>	<i>Teacher Ratings</i>	<i>I.Q.</i>
Aggression (Symonds)	...	+.02	-.04	-.02
Conscience (Wexler)	+.63	-.05	-.12	-.04
Wrongdoing	+.63	-.07	-.14	-.09
Hate	+.54	-.05	-.11	+.09
Domination	+.51	-.18	-.17	-.08
Persecution	+.41	-.16	-.05	-.01
Insecurity	+.40	+.07	-.06	+.15
Power	+.26	-.04	-.10	+.01

WEXLER INTERCORRELATIONS

	<i>Wrongdoing</i>	<i>Hate</i>	<i>Domination</i>	<i>Persecution</i>	<i>Insecurity</i>	<i>Power</i>
Conscience	+.89	+.79	+.71	+.67	+.66	+.52
Wrongdoing	...	+.80	+.64	+.73	+.55	+.36
Hate	+.78	+.78	+.68	+.54
Domination	+.66	+.64	+.49
Persecution	+.48	+.32
Insecurity	+.43

TABLE 25

CORRELATIONS INVOLVING WEXLER FACTORS RELATING TO ANXIETY

	<i>Anxiety (Symonds)</i>	<i>Adjustment</i>	<i>Teacher Ratings</i>	<i>I.Q.</i>
Anxiety (Symonds)	...	+.23	+.12	-.01
Fear (Wexler)	+.54	+.17	+.10	+.13
Depression	+.46	+.40	+.27	+.26
Power	-.51	-.04	-.10	+.01
Danger	-.33	-.03	+.01	+.15

WEXLER INTERCORRELATIONS

	<i>Depression</i>	<i>Power</i>	<i>Danger</i>
Fear	+.45	+.02	+.16
Depression	...	-.25	-.11
Power	...	...	+.46

TABLE 26

CORRELATIONS INVOLVING WEXLER FACTORS RELATING TO GUILT

	<i>Guilt (Symonds)</i>	<i>Adjustment</i>	<i>Teacher Ratings</i>	<i>I.Q.</i>
Guilt (Symonds)	...	-.14	-.13	-.27
Conscience (Wexler)	+.08	-.05	-.13	-.04
Domination	+.25	-.18	-.17	-.08
Fear	+.22	+.17	+.10	+.13

TABLE 27

CORRELATIONS INVOLVING WEXLER FACTORS RELATING TO REPENTANCE

	<i>Repentance (Symonds)</i>	<i>Adjustment</i>	<i>Teacher Ratings</i>	<i>I.Q.</i>
Repentance (Symonds)	...	-.22	-.28	-.34
Conscience (Wexler)	+.44	-.05	-.13	-.04
Domination	+.42	-.18	-.17	-.08
Wrongdoing	+.35	-.07	-.14	-.09

TABLE 28

CORRELATIONS INVOLVING WEXLER FACTORS RELATING TO SUCCESS

	<i>Success (Symonds)</i>	<i>Adjustment</i>	<i>Teacher Ratings</i>	<i>I.Q.</i>
Success (Symonds)	...	+.12	+.07	+.13
Power (Wexler)	+.45	-.04	-.10	+.01
Security	+.31	-.11	-.20	-.04
Insecurity	+.18	+.07	-.06	+.15
Love	+.24	+.05	-.02	+.03
Domination	+.10	-.18	-.17	-.08

WEXLER INTERCORRELATIONS

	<i>Security</i>	<i>Insecurity</i>	<i>Love</i>	<i>Domination</i>
Power	+.60	+.43	+.44	+.49
Security	...	+.40	+.47	+.34
Insecurity	...	...	+.43	+.64
Love	...	...	...	+.38

TABLE 29

CORRELATIONS INVOLVING WEXLER FACTORS RELATING TO PUNISHMENT

	<i>Punishment (Symonds)</i>	<i>Adjustment</i>	<i>Teacher Ratings</i>	<i>I.Q.</i>
Punishment (Symonds)	...	.00	-.04	-.02
Danger (Wexler)	+.70	-.03	+.01	+.15
Conscience	+.63	-.05	-.13	-.04
Wrongdoing	+.62	-.07	-.14	-.09
Hate	+.60	-.05	-.11	+.09
Persecution	+.47	-.16	-.05	-.01
Power	+.45	-.04	-.10	+.01

TABLE 30

CORRELATIONS INVOLVING WEXLER FACTORS RELATING TO DEPRESSION

	<i>Depression (Symonds)</i>	<i>Adjustment</i>	<i>Teacher Ratings</i>	<i>I.Q.</i>
Depression (Symonds)	...	+ .12	+ .10	+ .11
Depression (Wexler)	+ .25	+ .40	+ .27	+ .26
Persecution	+ .30	- .16	- .05	- .01

Wexler Interrelation: Depression with persecution +.08.

TABLE 31

CORRELATIONS INVOLVING WEXLER FACTORS RELATING TO LOVE

	<i>Love (Symonds)</i>	<i>Adjustment</i>	<i>Teacher Ratings</i>	<i>I.Q.</i>
Love (Symonds)	...	+ .08	+ .02	+ .10
Love (Wexler)	+ .53	+ .05	- .02	+ .03

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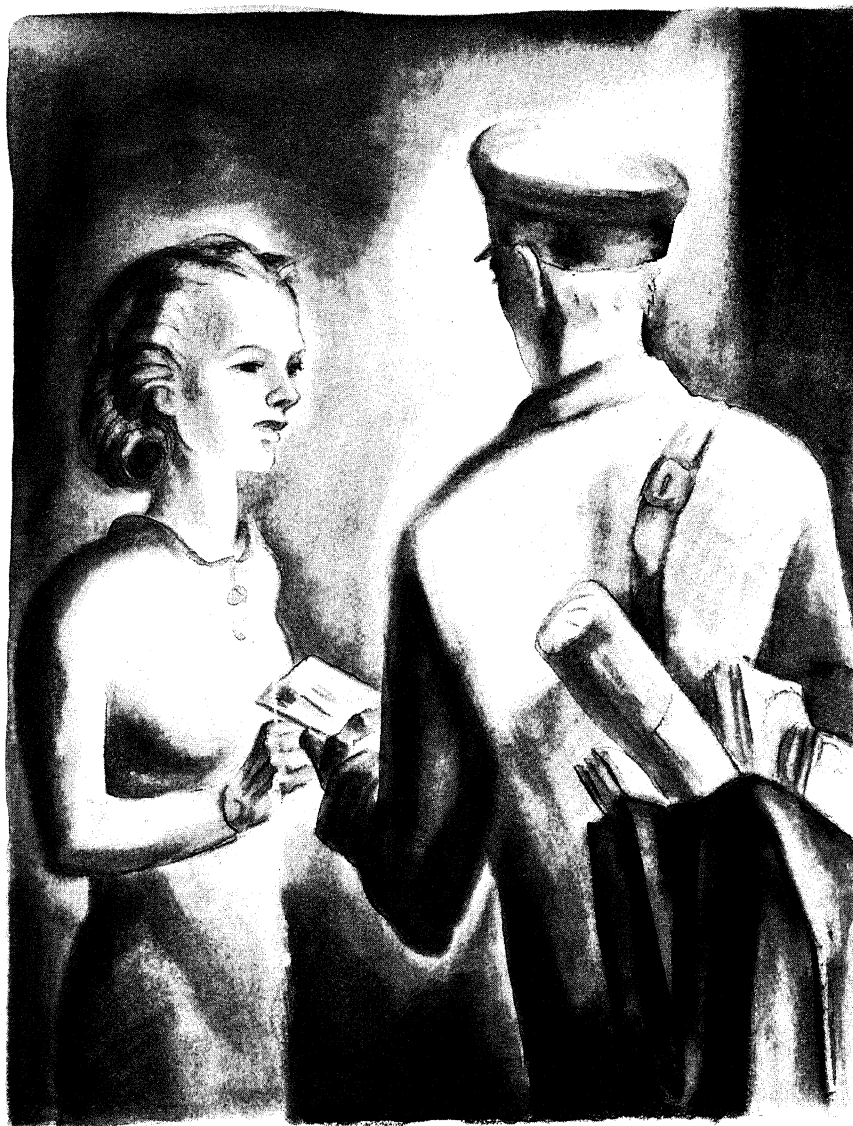
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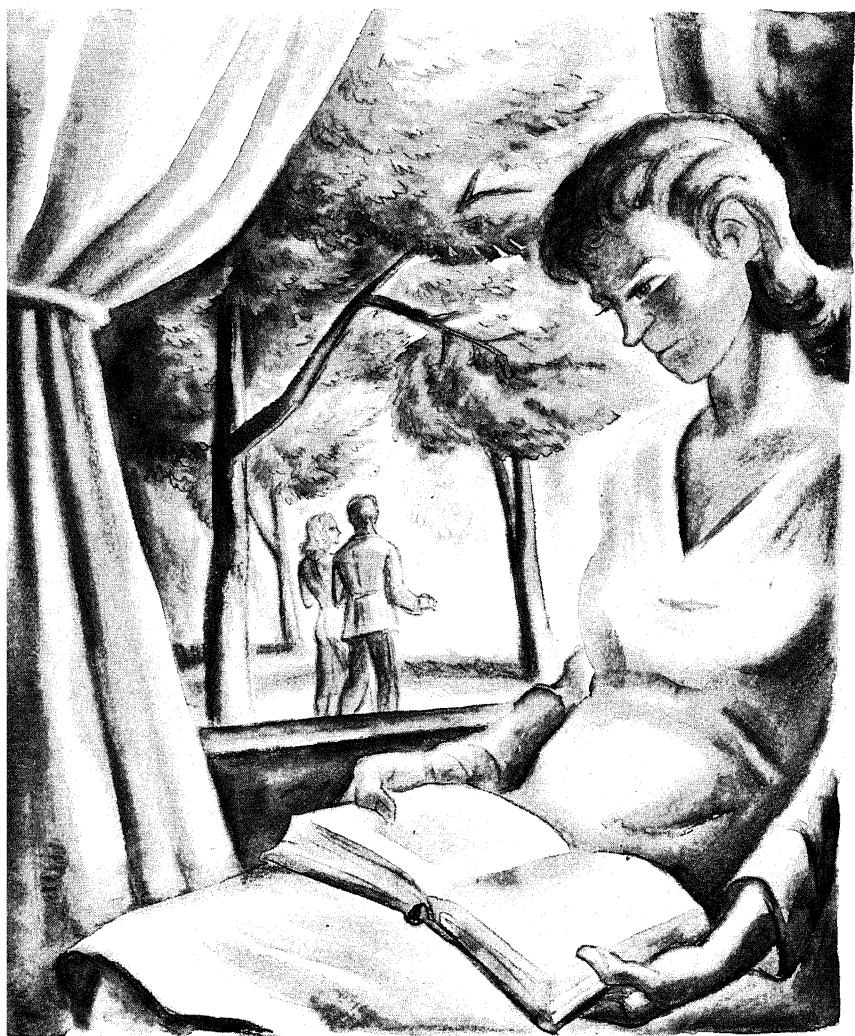
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THE PICTURES







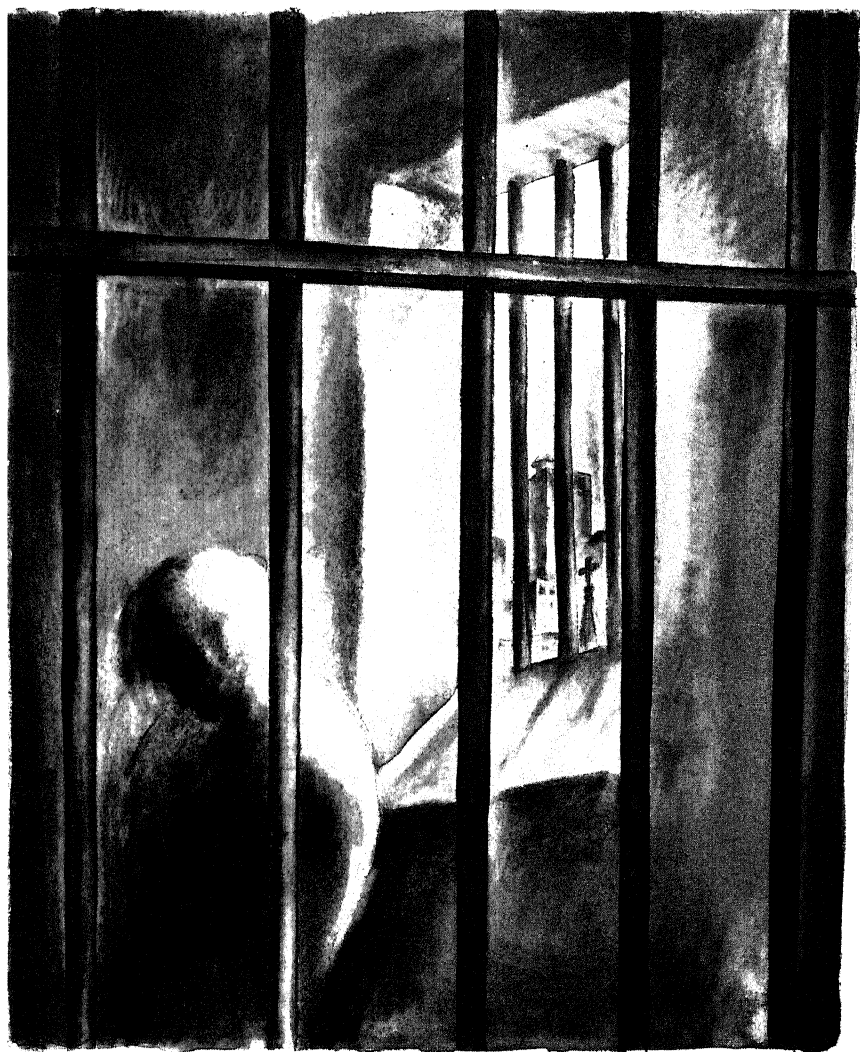


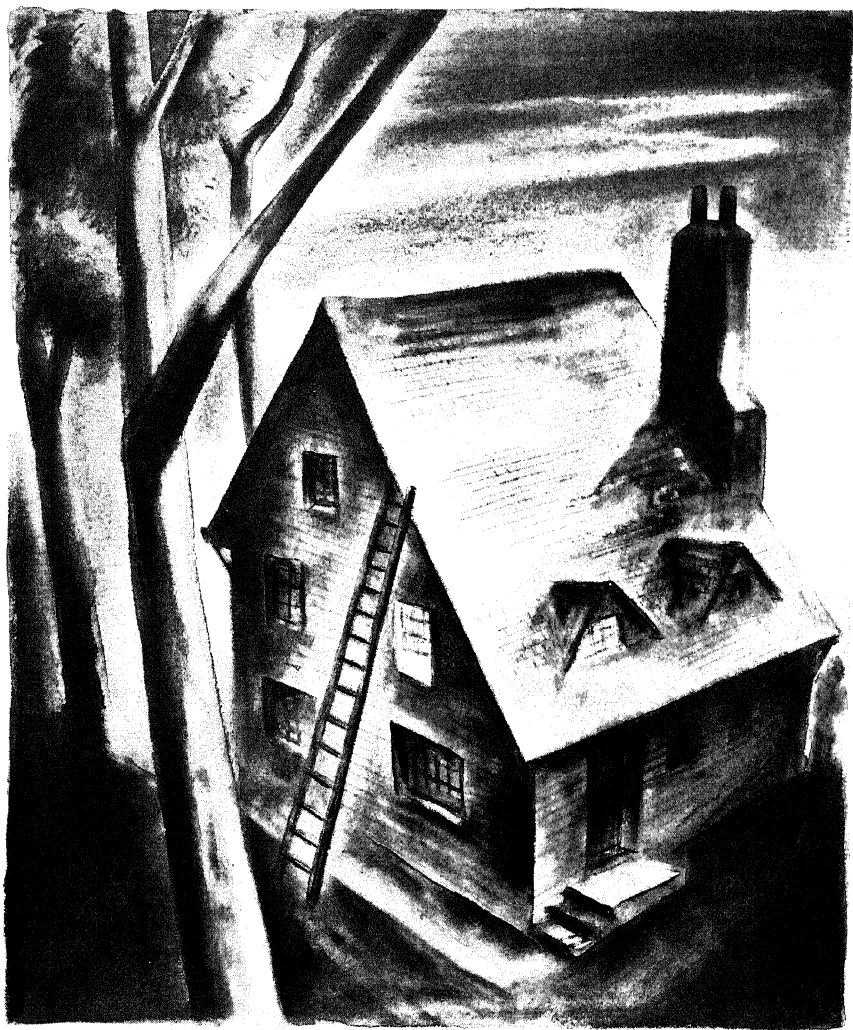








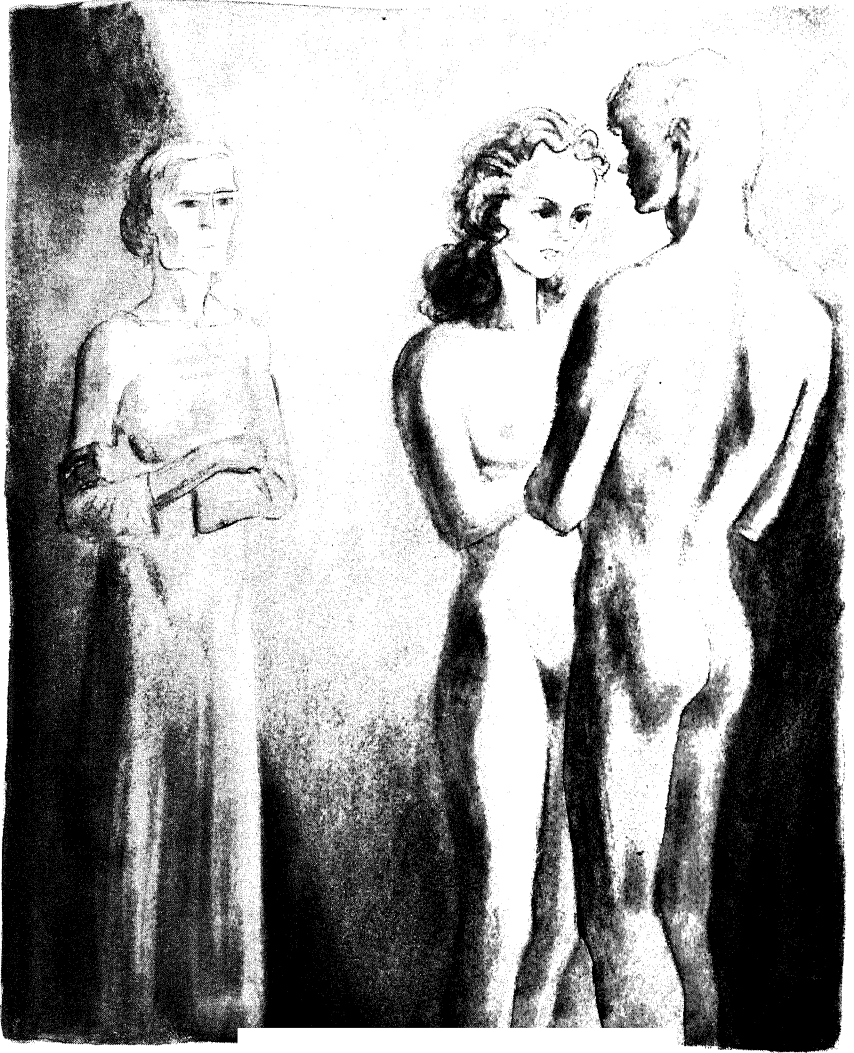


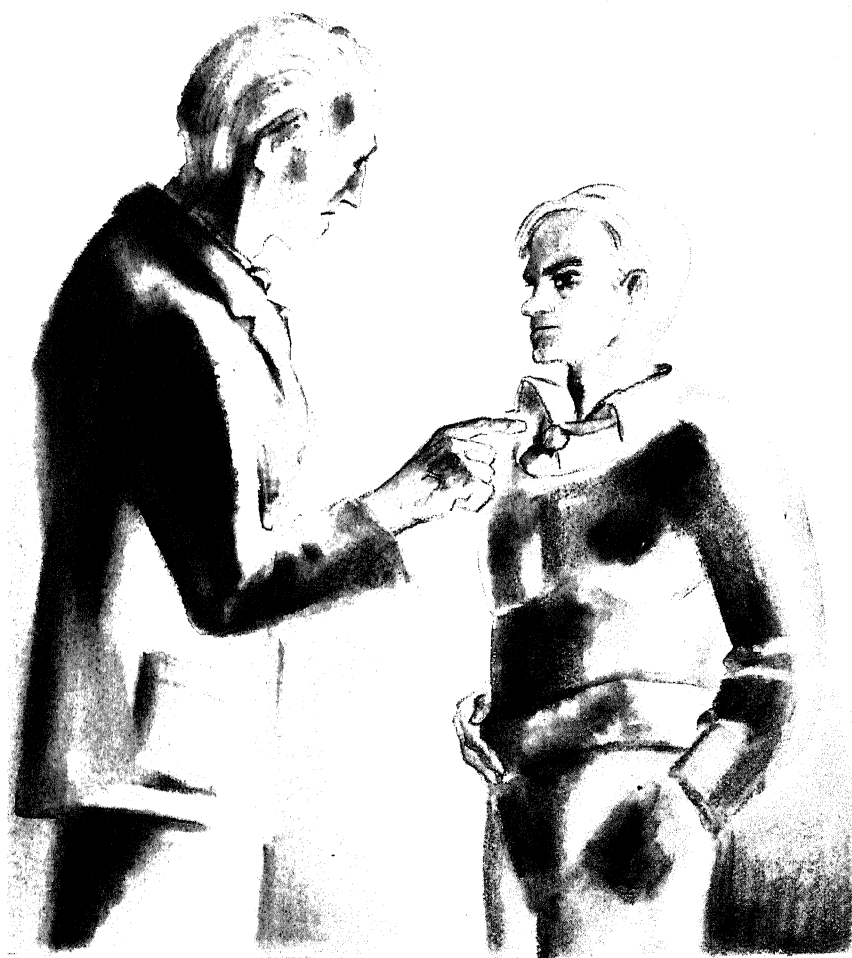












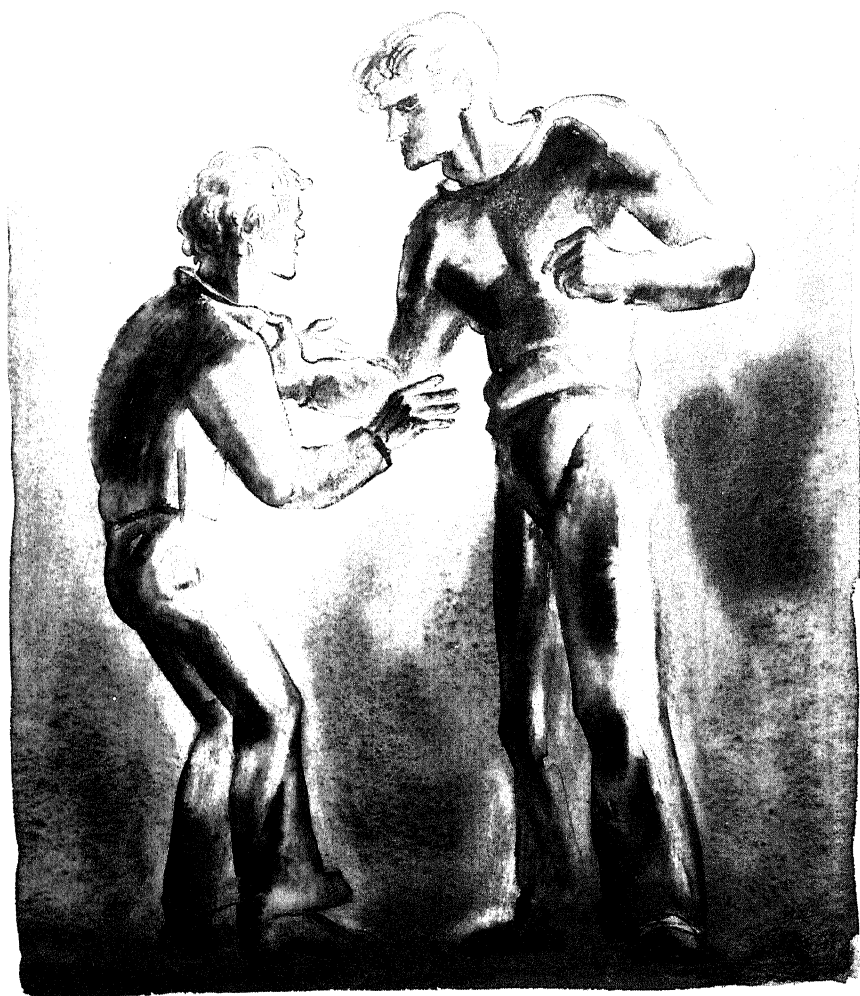




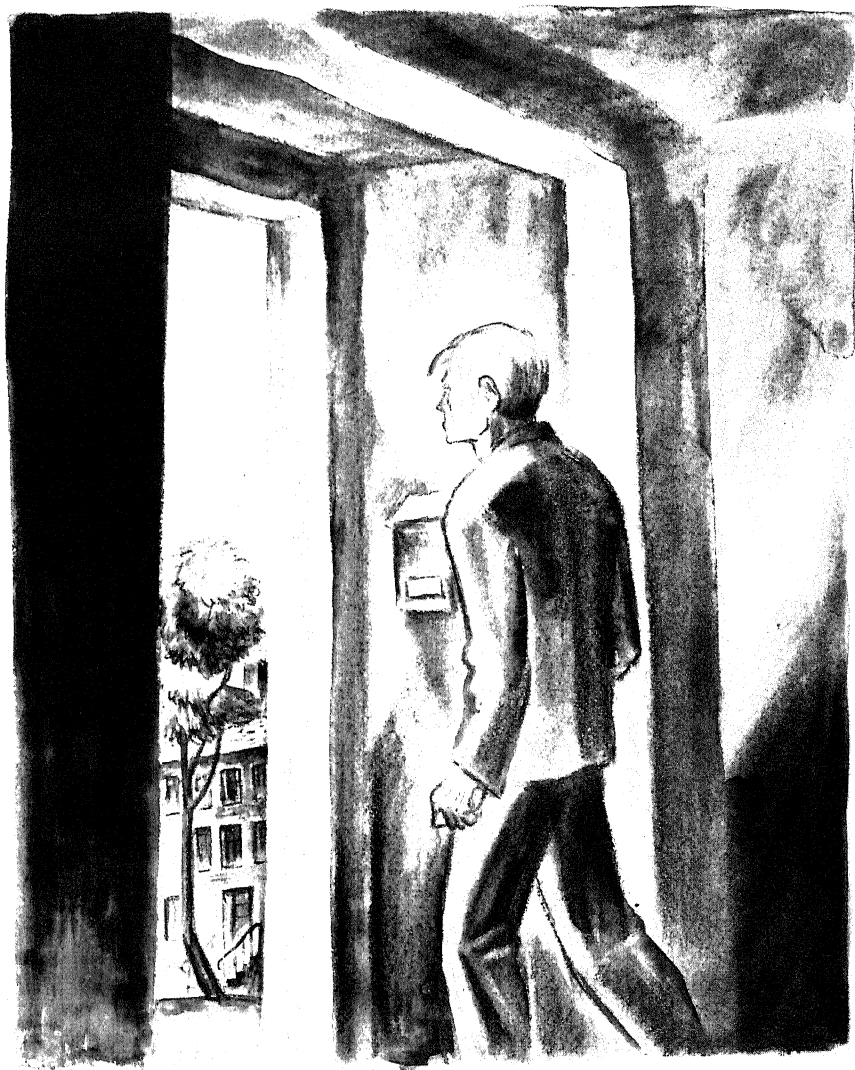


















































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